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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE, WORKS, AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS PEREGRINE COURTENAY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,

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1836.

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PREFACE.

FEW names are more generally known than that of Sir William Temple. All English libraries contain his works, and it is difficult to find a book upon their shelves, in which reference is not made to him for an anecdote, a sentiment, or a fact. His style is a favourite theme with all writers upon English literature; and continental as well as English politicians have celebrated his diplomacy, and lauded his political maxims.

Yet neither his writings, nor the circumstances of his life, are familiarly known: the excellences of his style are taken for granted by those who never read his works, and the honesty of his politics is admitted by those who never traced his conduct. Of his memoirs indeed, and his letters, copious use is made by historians; but even *they* are imperfectly acquainted with his printed letters, and not at all with those that are still unpublished.

Not only the frequency and the intensity, but the singularity of the commendation bestowed upon him, has induced me to regard, with more minute attention, the life of Sir William Temple. An in-

corrupt statesman, in the days of Charles the Second; a diplomatist, who rejected deceit and intrigue; a writer, who gave elegance and harmony to the English language, assuredly deserves that his actions should be recorded, and his writings perused.

These considerations induced me to become Temple's biographer, even when unaware of the existence of other materials for my undertaking than those which are afforded by his collected works, and the well-known memorials of his time. But, in describing my materials, I now hope to show, that some further account of Sir William Temple would be requisite, were it only to produce the additional papers which have come into my hands.

The Life of Sir William Temple was first written by Abel Boyer, a French protestant refugee, whose Grammar and Dictionary are better known than his Memoirs of Temple—a work, indeed, which, though not scarce, is so little known as not to be mentioned in the account of Boyer in the Biographical Dictionary.* It was published about fourteen years after Temple's death, and is founded entirely upon the memoirs and letters which had been published during Temple's life, or afterwards by Dean Swift, and the published letters of Lord Arlington, with

* See Biog. Dict., vi. 310.

occasional use of the letters of D'Estrades. From these materials, a very plain and useful account is given of the negotiations and public life of Temple. These are the subject of high panegyric, but of the private life very little is said, and that little apparently upon no authority. I have mentioned the publication *by Swift*, because Boyer neglects other printed collections, which, it will presently be seen, are not less authentic or valuable. To unpublished materials Boyer had no access, nor had he any assistance from Sir William Temple's family.

When, in the year 1720, the works of Sir William Temple were first collected for publication, a Life was prefixed, apparently the work of some writer employed by the booksellers, with nothing but Boyer's book to assist him.

To the next edition, in 1731, a new Life was prefixed, purporting to be "written by a particular friend." That friend was Lady Giffard, the sister of Temple; and this Life has considerable value; *but it was prepared for publication by omitting all that related to the more private life of Sir William Temple.* This leads me to the mention of the most valuable of my new materials.

A note subjoined by Lord Mountmorres to his History of the Irish Parliament, mentioning that the greater part of the property of Sir William Temple had descended to the Bacons of Suffolk, added, that "they were supposed to be possessed of some va-

luable papers of their great ancestor." * From Sir William Bethan, Ulster King of Arms, I learnt that these papers had come into the hands of the Reverend JOHN LONGE, Vicar of Coddenham in Suffolk, in which parish Shrubland Hall, the seat of the Bacons, was situated. The last of the Bacons †, (who was also Vicar of Coddenham,) having no issue, left these papers, with other property, to Mr. Longe, whose wife was his wife's sister. Mr. Longe answered my application with great courtesy, and offered me an opportunity of examining the papers; but before I could avail myself of this permission, Mr. Longe died, after having, in an affecting letter, written a very little before, referred me to his executors. His son and successor in the vicarage, the Reverend ROBERT LONGE, has carried his father's intentions into effect with much liberality, and, I must add, hospitality, for which I offer him my grateful thanks.

Among these papers is the above-mentioned Life of Sir William Temple by Lady Giffard: I have availed myself of all the suppressed passages.

There are also various detached letters and papers, to which I have referred, as from *Coddenham*, in the present work; some unpublished Romances and Essays; a family prayer; and a numerous and pleasing collection of letters written by Lady Temple, before marriage, to her future

* Mountmorres, ii. 163. † See the Pedigree, Rev. Nich. Bacon.

husband. As to these, I refer the reader to my first chapter, and to my Supplement. The absence of letters from Temple to this interesting person, and of the letters which passed between them during the periods of their occasional separation after they were married, is to me the cause of unspeakable regret. And though I have expressed a doubt whether the extracts which I have given from Lady Temple's letters will be generally acceptable, I fairly own that I lament that I did not transcribe a great many more.

There were also, at Coddenham, much of the correspondence that passed between Temple and the secretaries of state, during his employments abroad, and many other important public documents: these, with an original of the third part of Temple's Memoirs, the late Mr. Longe bequeathed to the British Museum, where they are bound in five volumes, and are noticed in this work as the *Longe Papers*.

I found in the British Museum, and used when necessary, other unpublished parts of Sir William Temple's diplomatic correspondence.

In the State Paper Office also, I found a great deal that had never been published. I am at a loss to discover any principle upon which former selections can have been made: some of the most curious particulars have been taken from these neglected papers.

Some few papers I have taken from the volumi-

nous collection of *Ormond* papers, made by Carte, and now in the Bodleian Library.

It was when my book was nearly ready, that Mr. William James Smith, librarian to His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, informed me of the existence of many letters of Sir William Temple among the *Essex* papers in the manuscript library at Stowe; and, with His Grace's permission, furnished me with transcripts of several; of some of these letters I have availed myself.

To the Duke of Buckingham, therefore, and his librarian; to Sir Henry Ellis and the Reverend Mr. Forshall of the British Museum; to Mr. Hobhouse, and to the late lamented Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office; and to Dr. Bandinel of the Bodleian, I owe my sincere thanks for their kind assistance in furnishing my materials. Nor can I omit the expression of my gratitude to several members of the Athenæum Club, for literary assistance and suggestions of various kinds; which have taught me the superiority of Literature to Politics, for developing the kindlier feelings, and conducing to an agreeable life.

I return more particular thanks to Mr. Amyot, the Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, for his indefatigable research into various points of personal and literary history, which, without his assistance, I must have left in darkness.

Some researches in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, were kindly pursued by Dr. Sadleir.

At the request of Mr. Jerningham, at that time His Majesty's representative at the Hague, (another instance of civility to be acknowledged,) the Baron VERSTOLK DE SOELEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the King of the Netherlands, (who, inheriting the patriotism and firmness of our William III., has less reason to remember gratefully the name of TEMPLE,) caused a search to be made among the archives at the Hague, for any documents which might throw light upon the proceedings of Sir William Temple, and, more particularly, his intercourse with JOHN DE WITT. From the nature of the negotiations, which were carried on by Temple at the seat of government, the Netherland archives afforded nothing of interest. But Baron Verstolk obligingly furnished me with an academical dissertation in Latin, upon the Triple Alliance, by Baron MACHAY, Chamberlain to Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Princess of Orange: it is entirely consistent with our account of the Triple Alliance, and serves to show that the name of Temple is not forgotten in Holland. To M. VAN DE WEYER, the Belgian minister in this country, I am also under obligation for kind and active assistance, in procuring answers to some troublesome inquiries.

In availing myself of the materials which have thus liberally been afforded, I have met with great difficulty from the dispersed condition of our historical records. Nothing is more common than to find an official letter in the State Paper Office,

the answer in the British Museum, and the reply in the State Paper Office again; or, perhaps, not forthcoming anywhere. For this, the keepers of the several repositories are in no way blameable; each keeps and communicates his own papers with care and liberality. But it were well worthy of the consideration of the government, whether, at least all the materials of the history of one period, might not be collected into some one place of deposit.

In framing my work out of the materials which I have described, it has been my great object to make it strictly a *biography*, not a history of the times. Without this caution, there would be as many histories of each period as there have been public men in it: from the life of a prime minister it is difficult to separate the history of his age, but Temple never took a leading share in the general administration; nor, except for a very short period, had any concern at all in the direction of affairs. I have therefore generally assumed, that my readers have a sufficient acquaintance with the course of public events. In foreign affairs, although Temple's functions were subordinate, his peculiar station connected him with all that was most important in the policy of England. Here, then, I have necessarily been a little more copious. My object, however, has still been to describe only those transactions in which Temple was personally concerned. I am afraid, that I have

sometimes permitted this resolution to occasion a too meagre description of the political transactions of Europe. This is perhaps only one of many points in which I require the indulgence of the reader. But I have endeavoured to proportion the length of my narrative to the importance of each transaction to Temple's fame. Thus, the Triple Alliance, and, still more, the negotiation with the Bishop of Munster, would bear an undue proportion to the history of the Congress of Nimeguen, if my book were a history of Europe; but in this greater affair, Temple, though one of the plenipotentiaries, had a small share, and no influence; whereas in the others he was the principal actor, and the principles of the Triple Alliance formed his political creed.

Of the unusual frequency and minuteness of my references, I offer a twofold explanation.

In the first place, my conversance with histories has taught me, that not the most honest and veracious of historians is to be depended upon for a matter of fact. It may seem a harsh judgment, but I believe it to be a just one, that when the best of men, in the best of language, makes an averment for which he gives no authority, there is an equal chance whether it be false or whether it be true; and if he founds it upon an unnamed document, there is always a high probability that the document will bear another construction. No man can write, from his own knowledge, of that

which passed before he was born: he must take his notions from some evidence, or from some authority; and he who conceals, from those whom he teaches, the grounds of his own belief, may be suspected of caring more for establishing his own views, than for the truth of the matter.

Holding these principles, and not deeming myself an exception to my general rule, or claiming to be exempt from its operation, I have endeavoured to put my reader in possession of the evidence, or of the authority, where I have been contented with authority, upon which I make each statement; in order that he judge for himself whether the foundation will bear the superstructure. I say, *I have endeavoured*, because, among the multitude of writers which I have consulted, and notes which I have made, confusion or neglect may have occasioned the omission, or even the mutation or the misquotation, of a document or a passage. In all such cases, the error is unintentional.

But I have made a great many references, unnecessary for elucidating any material point; my secondary explanation is therefore this. Sometimes out of abundant caution, sometimes for mere amusement, it is my habit to look, in the ordinary books of reference, or familiar histories, for every person or transaction recorded in my book. For my own convenience, in case of a revision of the work, and to gratify a similar propensity in others, I have generally noted these gratuitous references;

they cannot have increased by two pages the bulk of the book, and may afford interest to some of my readers.

I am sorry that, in page 8., the reader will find a blank: it was left, until too late, in the hope of filling it with the name of the Author of the "*Two Old Men's Tales:*" that name is still unknown to me, and I leave the space to be filled by that of him or her, who shall exceed in pathos those beautiful and touching stories.

Among the Longe papers in the British Museum, are the several *Instructions* which Temple received as the King's representative in Flanders and Holland. With one or two exceptions, these have never been published, nor does even the State Paper Office contain a complete collection. As documents, therefore, not only useful for the history of the time, but appertaining specially to Temple, they are given in the Appendix.

Exactly the same reason is not applicable to the Treaties, because, in some form and language, they have all been published; but they are nowhere to be seen at one view, and are therefore almost essential accompaniments to a history of Temple's diplomacy.

I have to apologise for the use of the first person plural: I hold this to be a great impropriety. It is a clumsy attempt to conceal, what neither can be concealed, nor ought to be concealed—the mere

individuality of the opinions pronounced. Egotism is not really avoided by affected expression. If a man is blameable for writing a book of his own views and opinions, his fault is not palliated by the pretence of companions. I lament exceedingly, that a recent habit of writing in *Reviews* should have betrayed me into the use of their presumptuous style. The views here displayed are nevertheless mine alone.

Only one word more. Dr. Johnson used to say, that "no man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money." * This was one of the foolish sayings of the wise man. There is great pleasure in composition, and great in historical research; and very great assuredly in literary fame, if either for style or matter one happily obtains it. On the present occasion, however, I beg that it may be understood, especially by him who hesitates whether to buy this work, that *I am* NOT *one of* JOHNSON'S *blockheads*; and this consciousness greatly augments the anxiety with which, a pamphleteer of forty years, I send my first *book* into the world.

T. P. C.

Powderham, Dec. 30. 1835.

* Croker's Boswell, iii. 384.

THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS have been used for the References in these Volumes; the way in which the references are generally made is added in italics.

The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., in two volumes, folio, 1731.

The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., in four volumes, 8vo, 1814. This is the edition which I have generally quoted, sometimes, as *Temple*, and in a few cases of references to his *Memoirs*, they are mentioned as such, but generally *with the number of the volume simply.*

Memoirs of the Life and Negociations of Sir William Temple, 1714. - *Boyer.*

Leland's History of Ireland. 3 vols. 4to, 1773. - - - - *Leland.*

Beatson's Political Index. 3 vols. 8vo, 1806. - - - - *Beatson.*

Hume's History of England. 8 vols. 8vo, 1802. - - - - *Hume.*

The New Parliamentary History of England. - - - - *Parl. Hist.*

Biographia Britannica, folio, 1747-1766. *Biog. Brit.*

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Oxford, 1826. - - - *Clarendon.*

Clarendon's Life and Continuation. Oxford, 1827. - - - *Clarendon's Life.*

Noble's House of Cromwell. 1787. - *Noble's Cromwell.*

Mémoires de Gourville. Amsterdam, 1782. - - - - *Gourville.*

Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond. 1736. - - - - *Carte's Ormond.*

Lingard's History of England. 8vo, 1825. - - - - *Lingard.*

Dryden's Works, by Sir Walter Scott. *Scott's Dryden.*

Lord Mountmorres's History of the Irish Parliament. 8vo, 1792. - *Mountmorres.*

Campbell's Memoirs of De Witt, and De Witt's Maxims, &c. 1746. -	*Campbell's Memoirs.*
Lettres de M. le Compte d'Estrades. 12mo, London, 1743. - -	*D'Estrades.*
The Earl of Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple, by Thomas Babington. 8vo, 1701. - - -	*Arlington*, or *Arl.*
The Life of James the Second, edited by T. S. Clarke. 1816. - -	*James's Life.*
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. 1750.	*Campbell.*
Letters written by Sir William Temple, &c.; by D. Jones. 1699. (See Vol. II. p. 239.) - - - -	*Jones.*
Select Letters to the Prince of Orange, &c. 1701. (See Vol. II. p. 240.) -	*Sel. Let.*
Corps Universel Diplomatique. -	*Dumont.*
Collins's Peerage of England, by Sir Egerton Brydges. 1812. - -	*Collins.*
Banks's Extinct Baronage. - -	*Banks.*
L'Art de vérifier les Dates, &c. 18 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1818. - -	*Les Dates.*
Sir Walter Raleigh's Works. 1829. -	*Raleigh's Works.*
Life and Times of King William III., by the Hon. A. Trevor. 1834. -	*Trevor.*
The Ambassador and his Functions, by M. de Wicquefort, translated by Digby, folio. - - -	*Wicquefort.*
Mémoires de Gourville. - -	*Gourville.*
Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times. Oxford, 1833.* - -	*Burnet.*
Ralph's History of England. 2 vols. folio, 1744. - - - -	*Ralph.*
Œuvres de Louis XIV. 8vo, 1806. -	*Œuvres de Louis.*
Histoire générale et raisonnée de la Diplomatie Française. 8vo. Paris, 1811. - - - -	*Flassan.*

* I fear that, not adverting to the publication of a second edition of the new Oxford Burnet, I have sometimes quoted the first edition, 1823, and sometimes that of 1833. When the right page is not immediately met with, the passage may be sought a little earlier or later.

Biographical Dictionary, by Alexander Chalmers. 8vo., 1811–17.	*Biog. Dict.*
Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. 3 vols. 8vo., 1790.	*Dalrymple, or Dalr.*
Histoire de Vicompte de Turenne. 4 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1770.	*Turenne.*
A View of the Reign of James II. 4to., 1835.	*Mackintosh.*
Copies and Extracts of several Letters to and from the Earl of Danby. 8vo. 1710.	*Danby's Letters, or Danby.*
The Constitutional History of England. 3d edition, 1832.	*Hallam.*
Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, by Singer. 1814.	*Clar. Corr.*
Swift's Works, by Walter Scott.	*Scott's Swift, or Scott.*
Memoirs of John Evelyn. 8vo. 1827.	*Evelyn.*
Life of William Lord Russell. 4to. 1819.	*Lord John Russell.*
Burke's Works. 8vo. 1803.	*Burke's Works.*
Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works. 1814.	*Gibbon's Misc. Works.*
Baronetage of England, by the Rev. W. Betham.	*Betham.*
The Papers, formerly at Coddenham, which came from the Temples into the Bacon Family, and are now deposited in the British Museum, in obedience to the Will of the Rev. John Longe, are referred to as	*Longe Papers.*
The Papers still remaining at Coddenham are referred to as from	*Coddenham.*

Where the Reference for a Letter is by a simple date, it is to be understood that the Letter is in the State Paper Office.

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ERRATA.

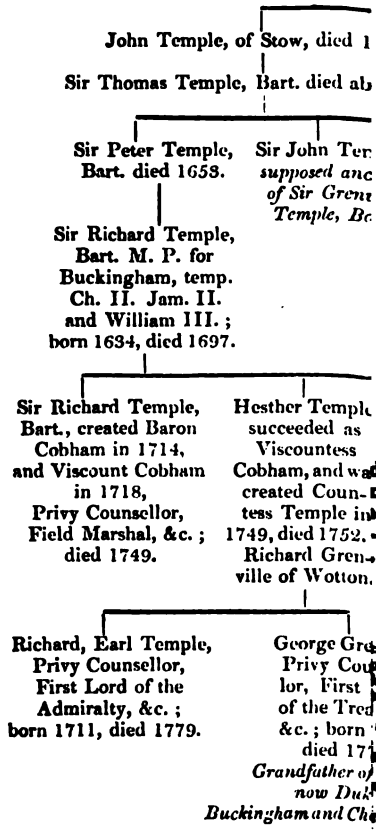
VOL. I.

Page 5. note *, dele *The ancient seat has lately been sold.*
10. line 17. for *scarely* read *scarcely.*
35. note †, for *Southwold Bay* read *Lowestoff.*
75. and 79. The numbers of these pages are transposed.
125. line 7. for *troth* read *trouble.*
140. last line, for *representations* read *representatives.*
201. line 10. for *appear* read *appears.*
303. note *, for *Cam.* read *Carm.*
309. note †, for 1667–9. read 1668–9.
334. line 19. for *friend* read *friends.*
341. line 20. after *truth* dele the comma, and insert *of.*

VOL. II.

Page 7. line 14. for *M.* read *Mr.*
72. note †, line 6. for *Cour.* read *Coun.*
92. for note *, read *Sir Henry Saville, brother to Lord Halifax, ambassador in France, to whom several of the letters of Algernon Sidney are addressed.*
208. note †, after *Burnet* insert ii. 62.
231. line 4. for *Irish* read *first.*
232. line 12. for *delightful* read *pleasing.*
232. last line of note, for *Bronacher* read *Brouncker.*

[*To face Vol. I. page* 1.]


John Temple, of Stow, died 1
Sir Thomas Temple, Bart. died ab
Sir Peter Temple, Bart. died 1653.
Sir John Ter
supposed anc
of Sir Grenv
Temple, Bc
Sir Richard Temple, Bart. M. P. for Buckingham, temp. Ch. II. Jam. II. and William III.; born 1634, died 1697.
Sir Richard Temple, Bart., created Baron Cobham in 1714, and Viscount Cobham in 1718, Privy Counsellor, Field Marshal, &c.; died 1749.
Hesther Temple succeeded as Viscountess Cobham, and was created Countess Temple in 1749, died 1752.
Richard Grenville of Wotton.
Richard, Earl Temple, Privy Counsellor, First Lord of the Admiralty, &c.; born 1711, died 1779.
George Gre
Privy Cou
lor, First
of the Tre
&c.; born
died 17
Grandfather of
now Duk
Buckingham and Ch

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

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BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EDUCATION. — TRAVELS. — COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE. — RESIDENCE IN IRELAND. — THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

1628—1660.

WILLIAM TEMPLE was born at Blackfriars, in London, in the year 1628. The family, of which he represented a younger branch, had long been seated at Temple Hall, in Leicestershire, and the head of it was one of the first baronets.* The earlier genealogy† of the house, which pretended

* Sir Thomas Temple, Knt., of Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Sept. 24. 1611. Beatson, i. 254.

† The Temples claimed a descent from Leofric, first Earl of Chester; and the eagle which occupies the first quarter in the shield of Sir William Temple, and of Lord Palmerston, is ascribed to this ancient Earl. This heraldry is too antiquated even for Collins, who takes no notice of Leofric (ii. 410.); and Lady Giffard carries the pretensions of her family to King John's time only. A pedigree is annexed, showing the relation in which the Buckingham and Palmerston families, and those from which the Coddenham papers are derived, stand to Sir William Temple.

to the most ancient nobility, shall be left to the heralds; but so much of its history may be given, as illustrates the connections and opinions of those who stood nearest to the subject of the present memoir. The most independent mind takes an impression from a father, and is often imperceptibly affected by occurrences in the life of a grandsire.

The grandfather of Sir William Temple, who bore the same name, and was knighted, was secretary to Sir Philip Sidney, to whom he had previously dedicated two treatises in elegant Latin. After the hero's death, he acted in the same capacity with Robert Devereux, the unfortunate Earl of Essex *, whom he is said to have accompanied to Ireland when Lord Lieutenant.

That he served in Ireland is the more probable, because, after the death of Essex in 1600, he retired into that country, and became afterwards a Master in Chancery, Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, and representative of that city in Parliament.

Thus commenced the connection of the Temples with Ireland. The son of this Sir William, Sir John Temple, Knight, was Master of the Rolls and a privy counsellor in that country, and in much confidence with the Earl of Leicester †, Lord Lieutenant. His History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 is still a work of some repute.

* Some of his biographers make him also secretary to William Davison, the ill-used servant of the capricious Elizabeth. Lady Giffard does not mention this.

† Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle in right of his mother, who was a sister of Queen Elizabeth's Leicester; and created Earl in 1618.

In 1643, the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, was commanded to agree with the rebels for a *cessation* of arms, in order that the king might contend with his English subjects to better advantage. Sir John Temple, who was then deemed one of the great partisans of the English Parliament, opposed this concession; and was consequently dismissed and imprisoned, with three other members of the council.* In 1644, he was exchanged and sent for by the Parliament of England, to which he had been returned as member for Chichester†; but in 1648 he was turned out, or *secluded*‡ as the phrase ran, for concurring in the pacific votes of the Presbyterian party.§ He lived in retirement in London till the year 1653, when, Ireland becoming more settled, he resumed his office of Master of the Rolls.

He had married a sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond‖, Rector of Penshurst, in Kent, the well-known seat of the Sidneys.

Under this celebrated divine and zealous adherent of Charles I., WILLIAM TEMPLE, the eldest son of their marriage, received his early education. When Hammond was driven from his living by the

* Parsons, Loftus, and Meredith. Leland's History of Ireland, iii. 207.

† Parl. Hist., ii. 620.

‡ See Hume, vii. 131., for this transaction, denominated Colonel Pride's purge. Parl. Hist. iii. 1240. and 1249.

§ 4th December, 1648. That the removal of the king out of the Isle of Wight was without the knowledge and consent of this House: and 5th of December, that the answers of the king to the propositions of both Houses are a ground for the House to proceed upon for a settlement of the peace of the kingdom. — Com. Journ. vi. 93.

‖ See an account of him in Biog. Brit. iv. 2520.

parliamentary government, Temple was sent to a school at Bishop-Stortford. Here he learnt all the Latin and Greek he ever knew. His Latin he retained; but he often regretted the loss of his Greek. After an interval of two years, occasioned by the unsettled state of affairs, he went, at the age of seventeen, to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, where he was under the tuition of Dr. Ralph Cudworth *, author of "The Intellectual System of the World." At this time the fortunes of Sir John Temple were very low; but he chose to spare in any thing rather than what might tend to the advantage of his children in their breeding and education. But Temple's education, in its scholastic sense, did not proceed successfully. His learned tutor endeavoured in vain to initiate him to the study of logic and philosophy; he gave himself up to tennis, and entertainments which agreed better with his age and lively humour, and quitted Cambridge after two years, without any degree or academic honours; and, had it been possible, he was accustomed to say, he should have lost all that he had previously learned. †

In 1647 or 1648, at twenty years of age, Temple left Cambridge, and entered into the world of men and bustle. We have seen that his father, though

* See Biog. Brit. iv. 1579.

† The life by Boyer, and that prefixed to the Works in folio, 1720, celebrate not only the early promise of Temple's genius, but his distinguished progress in academical studies. As his sister, from whom the text is taken, is more likely to be correct, the contrary statement may be regarded as one of those random assumptions in which biographers indulge.

he concurred in the earlier measures of opposition to Charles I., had separated himself from the parliamentarians when their measures grew more violent, and decisive against the monarchy. After this event, which occurred about the time of Temple's leaving Cambridge, his father may perhaps be deemed a favourer of Charles.

Certainly, he was opposed to those who now kept the king in thraldom. Temple, therefore, would have entered the political world under a bias against the prevailing faction, even though he had not been tutored by Dr. Hammond: all circumstances combined, had probably rendered him now a decided royalist. His earliest friendships retained him in that connection.

Proceeding upon his travels into France, he passed through the Isle of Wight, where the unfortunate king was confined.

Here he met with the son and daughter of Sir Peter Osborne*; they were on their way to St. Maloes, to join their father, who was governor of Guernsey for the king. Temple accompanied them to France; but the journey was for a time interrupted, through the loyalty of young Osborne. "The spite he had," says Lady Giffard, "to see the king imprisoned, and treated by the governor, Colonel Hammond, so unlike what was due to him, prompted him to step back after all

* Of Chicksands, in Bedfordshire, ancestor of Sir John. The ancient seat has lately been sold. According to Clarendon (vi. 193.), a young Osborne, of a gentleman's family, was put about the person of Charles I., when in the Isle of Wight, and was concerned in an attempt at escape. But that could scarcely be our Osborne, who went abroad, whereas the other was examined by parliament.

the company were gone before him out of the inn, and write these words with a diamond in the window: '*And Haman was hanged upon the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai.*'"*

The adventurous cavalier had no sooner rejoined his companions, than he was seized and brought back to the governor: his sister, trusting, it would seem, to the gallantry of even a roundhead officer, took the offence upon herself, and the loyal friends were suffered to depart.

The wit and loyalty thus displayed, by a young lady† of much personal attraction, were not lost upon William Temple. He stayed apparently some time with her in France, and formed a lasting attachment. Whether he had obtained from her an avowal of preference, when his father, hearing of his proceedings, ordered him to Paris, is not certain. He proceeded on his travels, and was probably separated from Mrs. Osborne‡ for some time.

We have no account of Temple's travels, beyond the fact of his passing two years in France, and visiting Holland, Flanders, and Germany. He acquired the French and Spanish languages, not the German; he took a great fancy to Brussels, and conceived a strong desire to be the king's resident there, if he should come to be restored.

On his return to England, Temple found him-

* Esther, ch. vii. ver. 10.

† Dorothy Osborne was born in 1627, and was therefore now about twenty-one years old; one year older than Temple.

‡ In those days, as is well known, unmarried ladies were styled *Mrs.* Miss was a term of inferiority, if not of reproach. At what period did the appellation now acknowledged only by matrons or ancient maidens cease to be borne by single women?

self without occupation, and lived two or three years about the town, in the usual entertainments of young and idle men; but, although he entered into the dissipations of London, he displayed, even at this early age (twenty-two or twenty-three), the contemplative and literary character. He lived much alone, read much, and indulged in composition, in verse and prose. Some short essays, of which Lady Giffard speaks, are still at Coddenham. Temple himself would never suffer them to be published; but his sister says of them: "If I might be judge, they were not less extraordinary at that age than what he has writ since with more judgment and thought. Such a spirit and range of fancy and imagination, I believe, have seldom been seen, which, he used to say, cost him so much pain to suppress in all he made public." A cursory examination does not bear out the sister's commendation. They appear to be school-themes upon a large scale, and, though not destitute of originality, not calculated to be instructive or popular.* The latter character would perhaps be more likely to belong to a set of romantic stories, which were apparently composed about the same time. But, in those days, a sale could hardly be obtained for "A True Romance, or the Disastrous Chances of Love and Fortune, set forth in divers tragical stories which in these latter ages have been but too truly acted upon the stage of Europe." Such is the title of a collection, in composing which, as Temple tells

* It is fair to say, that few of them have been read, and those rather hastily. A specimen is given in the supplement.

the lady to whom he addresses it (his wife, we presume), he amused himself while absent from her. The stories * were imitated, he says, not translated, from the French. "And now, madam," he concludes, "I must only ask your pardon for entitling you to the disastrous chances of love and fortune. You will not be displeased, since I thereby entitle you to my whole life, which has hitherto been composed of nothing else; but whilst I am yours I can never be unhappy, and shall always esteem fortune my friend, as long as you shall esteem me your servant." As Lady Temple was a great reader of romances, she probably devoured these: had the pages of Austin, or Scott, or Hook, or , or the Listers been then opened to her, even the zest of affection had scarcely made these palatable.

Temple had always a predilection for the country, and made frequent excursions, especially to Moor Park, in Surrey, then the residence of his friend Richard Franklin, who married a relation of his future wife. Some lines which he wrote upon a window there, opposite to a statue of Leda, are mentioned by Lady Giffard as indicating the unquietness of his mind at this period: —

> "Tell me, Leda, which is best,
> Ne'er to move, or ne'er to rest?
> Speak, that I may know thereby,
> Who is happier, you or I."

* Their names may give some indication of their character: — "The Labyrinth of Fortune. The Fate of Jealousy. The Constant Desperado. The Force of Custom. The Generous Lovers. The Brave Duellists. The Incautious Pair. The Maid's Revenge. The Disloyal Wife." The stories are just what one would expect under these titles in a circulating library of pamphlet novels.

During his residence in London and the neighbourhood, he had communication and occasional intercourse with Dorothy Osborne. If he had not, when on the Continent, brought her to confession, he certainly now obtained an unreserved avowal. But the attachment was for a long time fruitless. "The accidents for seven years," says Lady Giffard, "of that amour, might make a history, and the letters that passed between them a volume. Though I cannot venture on it myself, I have often wished that they might be printed; for, to say nothing of *his* writing, which all the world has since been made judge of, I never saw anything more extraordinary than hers."

Of the letters on the side of the lady, many are still extant. It may be doubted whether Paternoster Row would confirm the judgment of Lady Giffard, in favour of the publication of the whole collection; but the life of Sir William Temple would be imperfectly related, without some notice of his correspondence with this amiable and intelligent woman, the object of his early and continued affection. It is difficult to make a selection from love-letters. Many of them are not to be distinguished in their topics from the hundreds which have been written or invented: they contain abundant evidence of a faithful and passionate attachment; much allusion to the persecution of friends; the difficulties of the correspondence, the impatience with which the letters were expected, and the blush with which they were received. There are thanks for long letters,

reproaches for short; rings, pictures, and hair requested or bestowed; company despised, and the world abjured; tears amidst parties of pleasure, and delight in the solitary ramble; rivals rejected, and cruel brothers defied. There is the usual variety of matter, and rapidity of transition; some fashionable gossip, and much serious reflection; now and then a very little scandal; often, the warm commendation of a friend.

All these ordinary topics are handled by Dorothy Osborne with a confident frankness, and an ease that is delightful; in a style correct and graphical, evidently conceived in purity and truth. There is much to show the gentlewoman and the Christian, with an occasional appearance of the simple woman. She writes much of books, but generally of romances, sometimes of poetry; scarely at all of works of a graver cast. Criticism, rather remarkable, upon style, and upon the prevalent affectation of language. A few political allusions appear; refreshing, in these republican times, to a friend of our ancient monarchy.

It is much to be lamented, that the almost entire absence of dates, and of references that might indicate a date, makes it impossible to trace historically the circumstances under which the letters were written.

Sir John Temple from the beginning discouraged the match, and ordered his son from St. Maloes to Paris when he heard of the attachment. And he, at some period, planned for William Temple an advantageous match, which there

is some reason for believing to have been that which Henry, the younger brother, afterwards made.

The Osbornes were violently set against the marriage, as one very disadvantageous in point of fortune; and some of them had apparently a personal dislike of Temple. For six or seven years were the lovers kept in suspense. It is not known whether, during the earlier part of that time, they met freely, or what were their respective residences and movements during the period, or even that over which the correspondence extends. Dorothy Osborne was much at Chicksands, where her father was in ill health; and she was there much tormented, not only by the opposition made to her choice, but by the intrusion of other suitors, or *servants* as she styles those who addressed her. The list of these, with which in some of her letters she entertains the true lover, is as long as that enumerated by Don Juan's Leporello. It is a curious circumstance, almost certainly proved, that of all her suitors, that one to whom (excepting Temple) the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne was most inclined, was Henry Cromwell, the son of the Lord Protector. He was a man, indeed, of whom all historians speak well; but it is strange that he should fall in with a family, so distinguished for their attachment to the royal cause. Of this Henry Cromwell, as of all her suitors, Mrs. Osborne writes with perfect frankness: sometimes she quizzes them, sometimes speaks of them almost too kindly for a lover's ear. Her preference of

Temple grew with time; for having in one letter *almost* promised that she would never marry any other man, she afterwards made that engagement with great solemnity. Still, although it is beyond a doubt that her devotion to Temple was intense, the lady was assuredly that one of the two, who admitted more readily the reasonableness of the opposition. Her notions were rather peculiar; she herself believed, that she and her lover would furnish one of the very few exceptions which the world affords, to the rule which involves in misery the parties to a poor marriage, but she had an inordinate apprehension of the scorn of the world. Nobody, she thought, would believe that she and her husband were happy, and she had not courage to marry, "to be called a ridiculous woman."

This language, probably, and her unwillingness to exclude her brother from the treaty of marriage, and perhaps the resort of numerous suitors, whom she sometimes, though fear of her family, did not at once reject, induced Sir John Temple to believe that Mrs. Osborne did not care for his son. William Temple, whose own constancy, considering his youth and situation, was admirable, never doubted her good faith; but he communicated to her, with the frankness that was common to them, his father's suspicion, and received a characteristic reply.

"I would fain tell you," she answers indignantly, "that your father is mistaken; and that you are not, if you believe that I have all the kindness and tenderness for you my heart is capa-

ble of. Let me assure you, whatever your father thinks, that had you 20,000*l.* a year, I could love you no more than I do, and should be far from showing it so much, lest it should look like a desire of your fortune, which as to myself I value as little as any body breathing. I have not lived thus long in the world, and in this age of changes, but certainly I know what an estate is; I have seen my father's reduced, better than 4000*l.* to not 400*l.* a year, and I thank God I never felt the change in anything that I thought necessary. I never wanted, and am confident I never shall; yet I would not be thought so inconsistent a person as not to remember that it is expected from all people that have sense that they should act with reason; that to all persons some proportion of fortune is necessary, according to their several qualities, and though it is not required that one should tie oneself to just so much, and something is left for one's inclination, and the difference in the persons to make, yet still within such a compass; and such as lay more upon these considerations than they will bear, shall infallibly be condemned by all sober persons. If any accident out of my power should bring me to necessity though never so great, I should not doubt, with God's assistance, but to bear it as well as any body, and I should never be ashamed on't if He pleased to send it me; but if by my own folly I had put it upon myself, the case would be extremely altered. If ever this comes to a treaty, I shall declare that in my own choice I prefer you much before any other person in the world, and all

that this inclination (in the judgments of any persons of honour and discretion) will bear, I shall desire may be laid upon it, to the utmost of what they can allow; and if your father please to make up the rest, I know nothing that is like to hinder me from being yours: but if your father, out of humour, shall refuse to treat with such friends as I have, let them be what they will, it must end here; for though I was content for your sake to lose them and all the respect they had for me, yet now I have done that, I'll never let them see that I have so little interest in you and yours, as not to permit that my brother may be admitted to treat for me. Sure, in a thing of course and so much reason as that (unless I did declare to all the world he were my enemy), it must be expected, whenever I dispose of myself, he should be made no stranger to it. When that shall be refused me, I may be justly reproached that I deceived myself, when I expected to be at all valued in a family that I am a stranger to, or that I should be considered with any respect, because I had a kindness for you that made me not value my own interest. I doubt much whether all this be sense or not, I find my head so heavy; but that which I would say is in short this, if I did say once that my brother should have nothing to do in it, 'twas when his carriage towards me gave me such an occasion as I could justify the keeping that distance with him; but now it would look extremely unhandsome in me, — sure I hope your father would not require it of me. If he does, I must conclude he has no

value for me, and sure I never disobliged him to my knowledge, and should with all the willingness imaginable serve him if it lay in my power. Good God! what an unhappy person am I! But all the world is so almost. Just now they are telling me of a gentleman near us, that is the most wretched creature made, by the loss of a wife that he passionately loved, that can be. If your father would but in some measure satisfy my friends, that I might but do it in any justifiable manner, you should dispose of me as you pleased, carry me whither you would, all places of the world would be alike to me, where *you* were."

Of her brother* she speaks as writing to her, when absent, in terms of affection, but she mentions his return as a time when she shall be "fairly baited." Still, when her lover was seriously attacked, she stirred up the spirit that was in her. In one letter, after repeating her arguments for the imprudence of a marriage without fortune, — "All this," she continues, "I can say to you; but when my brother disputes it with me, I have other argument for him, and I drove him up so close t'other night, that for want of a better gap to get out at, he was fain to say that he feared as much your having a fortune as your having none, for he saw you held my Lord L.'s principles; that religion and honour were things you did not consider at all; and that he was con-

* There were more brothers than one: this was most probably the eldest, yet on other occasions she speaks of him as personally kind towards Temple.

fident you would take any engagement, serve in any employment, or do any thing to advance yourself. I had no patience for this: to say you were a beggar, your father not worth 4000*l.* in the whole world, was nothing in comparison of having no religion nor no honour. I forgot all my disguise, and we talked ourselves weary; he renounced me again, and I defied him."

The doubt, expressed by Mr. Osborne, of the soundness of Temple's religion, is important in reference to other speculations upon the same subject, of which we have presently to treat. The charge of self-interestedness, with which it was accompanied, was undeniably false; and Osborne was probably led into both by the impetuosity of his temper. Another passage in the same letter would show, that if Dorothy Osborne saw in her lover some want of seriousness, she was far from suspecting him of deliberate infidelity. Indulging, as was her custom, in some serious reflections upon the world: "After all," she says, "who is weary of it more than in discourse? Who thinks with pleasure of leaving it, or preparing for the next? Nothing can wean us from the folly of preferring a mortal being, subject to great infirmity and unavoidable decays, before an immortal one, and all the glories that are promised with it. Is not this very like preaching? Well, 'tis too good for you, you shall have no more of it. I am afraid you are not mortified enough for such discourse to work upon, though I am not of my brother's opinion neither, that you have no religion in you. In earnest, I never took

any thing he ever said half so ill; as nothing sure is so great an injury. It must suppose one to be a devil in human shape."

On more than one occasion, Mrs. Osborne urged Temple to give her up, except as a friend, and sometimes she pressed him to marry the woman of his father's choice. She thought, at least, that she was sincere, but some of these specimens of resignation are curiously framed to ensure their own failure. She tells her lover to forget her, but adds, that if he must come to her, she will be glad to see him; she asks him to think no more of her, and assures him that she shall love nobody but him. She tells him of suitors rejected for his sake, and urges him to marry another. Notwithstanding all this, the quarrels of this lengthened courtship were infrequent and momentary. Once *, in answer to an urgent recommendation of abandonment, Temple wrote somewhat angrily. Her justification of herself was accompanied with expressions of tenderness and devotion, making it equally certain that her trespass would be pardoned, and her advice neglected. Nor, indeed, did she further persevere in it. It is uncertain at what period the following, the most melancholy and desperate of all her letters, was written by Mrs. Osborne. Its tone is too remarkable to allow of its omission.

"If you have ever loved me, do not refuse the last request I shall ever make you. 'Tis to preserve yourself from the violence of your passion. Vent it all upon me; call me and think me what

* In 1653.

you please; make me, if it be possible, more wretched than I am. I'll bear it all without the least murmur; nay, I deserve it all; for had you never seen me, you had certainly been happy. 'Tis my misfortunes that have that infectious quality as to strike at the same time me and all that's dear to me. I am the most unfortunate woman breathing, but I was never false: no, I call Heaven to witness that if my life could satisfy for the least injury my failure has done you (I cannot say 'twas *I* that did them you), I would lay it down with greater joy than any person ever received a crown; and if I ever forget what I owe you, or even entertain a thought of kindness for any person besides, may I live a long and miserable life: 'tis the greatest curse I can invent; if there be a greater, may I feel it. This is all I can say; tell me if it be possible I can do any thing for you, and tell me how I may deserve your pardon for all the trouble I have given you. I would not die without it."

This particular letter is written with deathbed seriousness, but in most of them there is a mixture of gaiety and gravity. Some, which were probably written in the earlier period of the engagement, are altogether lively and amusing; there is in almost all something to please even an indifferent reader *: and there is scarcely one in the whole collection, including even those in which prudence predominates over love, which an affectionate admirer might not receive with gladness.

* Under this impression, further extracts are given in a Supplement.

Among the few letters which treat of politics, one written after Cromwell's violent dissolution of the Long Parliament will be read with interest.

"Bless me! what will become of us all now? Is not this a strange turn? What does my Lord L.* think? Sure this will at least defer your journey. Tell me what I must think on't, whether it be better or worse, or whether you are at all concerned in it; for if you are not, I am not. Only, if I had been so wise as to have taken hold of the offer was made me of H. C.†, I might have been in a fair way of preferment; for sure they will be greater *now* than ever. Is it true that Al. S.‡ was so unwilling to leave the house that the G.§ was fain to take the pains to turn him out himself? Well, 'tis a pleasant world this: if Mr. Pim were alive again, I wonder what he would think of these proceedings, and whether this would appear as great a breach of the privileges of parliament as the demanding the five members; but I shall talk treasonably by and by, if I do not look to myself."

One other expression, which the arbitrariness of a republican government might have construed into treason, is to be found in a letter in which, after entreating Temple to be sparing in his correspondence on account of the trouble into which his letters bring her, Mrs. Osborne adds, "This is a strange request for me to make, that am as tender

* Philip Lord Lisle, son of Robert second Earl of Leicester, and elder brother to Algernon Sidney, was a republican. He was of the Protector's council, and destined for his *other* house. Noble's Cromwell, ii. 279.

† Henry Cromwell. ‡ Algernon Sidney.

§ General.

of your letters as my Lady Protector* is of her new dignity."

About this time (1653) the government of Ireland assumed a more settled character: Sir John Temple went over to resume his post of Master of the Rolls; and Temple, accompanied by his sister, visited him in that country. Not long afterwards, in March, 1654, Sir Peter Osborne died, and a considerable change occurred in the circumstances of his daughter. Temple soon came over to England†, but difficulties remained, with the nature and duration of which we are alike unacquainted: she was still under the tutelage of her family.

"They swear," she writes on the 6th of June, 1654, "they will not allow me time for any thing; and to show how absolutely I am governed, I need but tell you that I am every night in the Park and at New Spring Gardens, where, though I come with a mask, I cannot escape being known, nor my conversion being admired. Are not you in some fear what will become of me? These are dangerous courses; I do not find, though, they have altered me yet."

At length, however, she resolved no longer to permit these obstacles, interposed by her family, to

* If Ludlow may be trusted, there is no ground for imputing to the Protector's wife (Elizabeth Bourchier) any peculiar fondness for her dignity. "His wife seemed at first unwilling to remove to Whitehall; but she afterwards became better satisfied with her grandeur." — Memoirs, 4to. 206.

† We have only a part of a letter from Temple, of all those which he wrote to her during the courtship. This is one of May 18. 1654, in which he asks, with many expressions of affection, whether the time is come for his returning to England.

prevent her happiness. "After a long debate with myself (Oct. 2. 1654) how to satisfy you, and remove that rock (as you call it) which in your apprehensions is of so great danger, I am at last resolved to let you see that I value your affeetion for me at as high a rate as you yourself can set it, and that you cannot have more of tenderness for me and my interests than I shall ever have for yours. The particulars how I intend to make this good, you shall know when I see you, which, since I find them here more irresolute in point of time (though not as to the journey itself) than I hoped they would have been, notwithstanding your quarrel to me, and the apprehensions you would make me believe you have that I do not care to see you —pray come hither, and try whether you shall be welcome or not." In this interview, although restricted to a few hours, probably all was settled, and the day fixed.

But now, as if to give still more of interest to a story, already fit for the ground of a romance, the bride was taken dangerously ill. So serious did the disorder appear, that the physicians rejoiced when it appeared to be the small-pox. Her attentive lover watched the progress of her illness, and had the pleasure of seeing her recovery; but the terrible disease, which some persons are even now unwilling to eradicate, had destroyed the beauty which perhaps first attracted Temple, though fortunately he had now had full opportunity of appreciating her more durable qualities. He was not of a temperament to be quite insens-

ible to this loss, but he hesitated not for a moment, and the faithful pair were at last united.*

They passed the first year at the house of a friend in the country, where his eldest son was born, and then went to reside with his father in Ireland.

Sir John Temple now resided partly in Dublin, partly in the county of Carlow; and between these two, Temple and his wife "passed five years, with great satisfaction," as he always expressed, almost wholly in the conversation of his family and friends, where there was always a perfect agreement, kindness, and confidence, in all which Mrs. Temple participated, and became one of the family. When in Carlow, where he appears to have built a house, Temple took part in all county affairs; but neither the conversation of an agreeable family, nor his public duties, prevented him from pursuing the studies of his closet; and he traced to the five years thus passed quietly in Ireland, much of what he knew of philosophy and history. It was probably in consequence of some boast of the pleasures of agriculture and a rural life, that he now translated, at his wife's desire, the "Fortunatus" of Virgil. No high praise, as for poetry, can be bestowed upon this piece of family versification; yet it is at least equal to Dryden's in exactness of imitation.†

* It has been found impossible to ascertain the date of the marriage, which was probably performed by a justice of the peace. It may be presumed to have occurred at the end of the year 1654.

† It is not among the pieces of poetry published with Temple's Works, but it is to be found (p. 9.) in a small volume (lent to the biographer by Mr. Thomas Grenville) of "Poems by Sir W. T.," which was

Lady Temple, it may be presumed, did not criticise her husband's poetry very fastidiously; but a piece of prose which he probably composed at this time must have been still more acceptable to his wife, who held in just abhorrence a man without religion. This is, "A family prayer, made in the fanatic times, when our servants were of so many different sects; and composed with the design that all might join in it, and so as to contain what was necessary for any to know, and to do." * In this prayer, although intended to be comprehensive, there is no evasion of the essential doctrines of Christianity; the atonement by the Son of God is put forward as the ground of hope, and His holy Spirit is invoked for assistance.

But the domestic joys of Temple and his wife were greatly clouded by the loss of five children successively, and this misfortune perhaps rendered

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never published. It is there entitled "Virgil's O Fortunati, &c., translated, or rather imitated, upon the desire of my Lady Temple." Take a specimen: —

Virgil (2d *Georgic*, l. 495.) *Illum non populi fasces, &c.*

DRYDEN.

"Whose mind unmoved the bribes of Courts can see,
Their glittering baits and purple slavery;
Nor hopes the people's praise nor fears their frown,
Nor when contending kindred tear the Crown
Will set one up or pull another down."

TEMPLE.

"Him move not princes' frowns, nor people's heats,
Nor faithless civil jars, nor foreign threats;
Nor Rome's affairs, nor transitory crowns,
The fall of Princes, or the rise of Clowns:
All 's one to him; nor grieves he at the sad
Events he hears, nor envies at the bad."

* This prayer is at Coddenham, in the hand-writing of Sir William Temple. See Appendix A.

him less unwilling to obey the call which was now made upon him, "to leave the cares of his sheep and game," and enter upon political life.

He had hitherto sought no public employment.* "The native love of my country," says Temple himself, "and its ancient constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into public affairs till the way was open for the King's happy restoration."†

This event now occurred, and according to Lady Giffard, from whose language the feelings of the family circle may be deduced, "turned every body's thoughts, and almost their brains, with a joy so sudden and surprising, from the damp and melancholy, the disorders and confusion of the scene had cast them into."

* The printed life says, "He refused all solicitations of entering into any employment under the usurper." There is no evidence of an offer. Lady Giffard only says — "The scene still continuing the same in England, and his resolution with it of never entering into business with that government."

† Address to his son, April, 1683. — I. 247.

CHAPTER II.

TEMPLE IN THE IRISH CONVENTION; AND PARLIAMENT. — SETTLES IN ENGLAND. — RECOMMENDED BY ORMOND TO CLARENDON AND ARLINGTON. — SEEKS EMPLOYMENT IN DIPLOMACY.

1660—1665.

TEMPLE was chosen, without his previous knowledge, into the Irish Convention as member for the county of Carlow.* He was sent with an address to General Monk, which was delivered to him just at the time of the voluntary dissolution of the Long Parliament, which Monk had restored.

Sir John Temple, it would appear, had come to England at an earlier period, and was not only in parliament, but in the council of state †, "by the friendship and favour of the General." Most of those who were in the same situation, took care to make their private applications to the King, in order, as it may be presumed, to secure his favour. This application Sir John Temple forbore to make. William Temple had doubts of the prudence of his father's course, particularly recollecting what had passed when Sir John opposed the Duke of Ormond's *cessation*. We have no precise knowledge

* This was apparently a convention called together by a self-elected council of officers in Dublin. It sat in spite of the orders from the council of state in England to dissolve itself. — Leland, iii. 505, 506.

† A council of state was appointed in Feb. 1659-60.—Jour. vii. 849.

of the nature of Temple's doubts; probably, he thought that his father's opposition to Ormond might have raised a prejudice against him in the mind of Charles, whom it was therefore desirable to conciliate by an early declaration. He resolved to ask advice of his uncle and former tutor, Dr. Hammond, who had now retired to the house of Lady Packington, in Worcestershire.* Arriving late and tired at the house, he asked if Dr. Hammond lived there, when he found that his journey was in vain; the man of loyalty was not permitted to share in the triumph of loyal principles, having on that very morning been committed to the earth.† From the fatigue of his journey, and the news of his sad loss, Temple fell sick, but soon returned to London; where he did not stay for the coming of the King, but went back to take his share in the affairs of Ireland.

Lady Giffard tells a story, which, if true, furnishes a memorable proof of his independence, and importance, as a member of the Convention. "Whilst every body was vying who should pay most court to the King, a Poll Bill was read. Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the Lords Justices whilst it was debating sent a message to the house to desire it might be doubled, which,

* Westwood, still the seat of the conservative family of Packington. Lady P. was the daughter of Lord Keeper Coventry, and wife to Sir John Packington, a distinguished loyalist. She is one of the reputed authors of "The Whole Duty of Man."—Nash's Worcestershire, i. 351.

† Dr. Hammond died on the 25th of April, 1660, and was buried the next day.

amongst a great many that disliked it, Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him. The Lords Justices* that heard whence the difficulty came, sent some to reason it with him; his answer was that he had nothing to say to it out of the house, where they chose a time to pass it in his absence. This made a great deal of talk, and brought him into more conversation and business than he had been used to in that country."

Soon afterwards, a regular parliament was summoned, and it is clear that the family had now obtained influence in Ireland, as Sir John Temple and his son William were the members for the county, and another Sir John, the brother of William, and Solicitor-General, was returned for the borough, of Carlow. Our Temple became immediately a distinguished member of the House of Commons. There are no proofs of his eloquence as a speaker; but Lady Giffard tells us, perhaps with a little of sisterly exaggeration, that "he often turned the house in their warmest debates by never entering into any of the parties or factions, and that a considerable person, Sir John Perceval, illustrated his influence by observing that he was glad he was not a woman, as he was sure that Temple might have persuaded him to any thing."

If he had not been eminent as a man of business, he would not have been constantly selected for the most important committees. He was an

* Sir Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor; Coote, Earl of Mountrath; Boyle, Earl of Orrery. — Carte's Ormond, ii. 202.

active member of one of these, appointed for the promotion of the trade of Ireland. Its principal recommendations were, a Navigation Act, similar to that which had passed in England in 1654, and the free exportation of wool, a point in which Temple, who had lived much in the country, appears to have taken much interest. He also took much part in the Act of Settlement*, and was one of a committee for preparing a clause for the security of the protestant interest; but this circumstance indicated, in the seventeenth century, no peculiar bias, nor are we acquainted with any particular view which Temple took of this difficult arrangement.

In July, 1661, he was one of the commissioners sent to England to wait upon the King, and to solicit and agitate many important measures affecting Ireland.

He now for the first time saw Charles II., but nothing is known of the reception which he met with; by the Duke of Ormond†, the Lord Lieu-

* As we are in the habit of applying this term to the acts regulating the succession to the crown, it may be right to mention that the Irish Act of Settlement was a law for settling landed property, which had been greatly disturbed by confiscations and grants during the troublous times. — See Hume, vii. 444.; and Lingard, xii. 63.

† James Butler, the "great Duke of Ormond," grandson and heir of Walter, tenth Earl. Born in 1610. He was first noted for insisting upon wearing his sword in the House of Lords in Ireland, contrary to a proclamation of the Lord Deputy Strafford: his writ, he said, required him to come "*cinctus cum gladio.*" He was nevertheless the defender of Lord Strafford. He was Lieutenant-General of the forces in 1641, the Earl of Leicester being then the non-resident Lord Lieutenant; and succeeded to that office himself in 1644. He was a zealous royalist; and was rewarded, in 1660, with a dukedom, and the appointment of Lord Steward of the Household; and again became Lord Lieutenant in 1661, but did not go over till 1662. In 1667 he was removed, in con-

tenant, he was coldly received, in consequence, as he concluded, of his opposition to the measures of the Duke, in the time of Charles I.*

But, returning soon afterwards to Ireland, and resuming his station in the House of Commons, he overcame the prejudices of Ormond, now resident in Dublin. "He was the only man in Ireland," as that nobleman observed, "who never asked him any thing."†

The parliament was prorogued in May, 1663, and Temple removed with his family to England, leaving, however, in Ireland his two brothers, "whose conversation he always regretted in the midst of his greatest employments." His sister, Martha Temple, had been married in April, 1662, to Sir Thomas Giffard, who left her a widow in the following month. She afterwards resided almost entirely with Temple and his wife, and was evidently a great favourite, and a confidential friend. Temple's income was at this time about five hundred a year; he was now an idle man, living much about the town and the court, where he was well received by every body. This life he led for two years.

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sequence of the intrigues of the Duke of Buckingham; but he retained the office of Lord Steward. He died in 1688, just before the Revolution.— Mountmorres, i. 203—313. See an account of him in Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, under the name of *Barzillai*. Scott's Dryden, ix. 241, 242. and 295.

* This passage is erased in Lady Giffard's manuscript, probably because Ormond became afterwards a warm friend of her brother.

† Lady Giffard's MS. Lord Mountmorres, who is very partial to Sir William Temple, says that "Parliament voted him an extra reward, for his services as commissioner, besides what he had in common with his colleagues. — II. 264.

But he had brought with him letters of recommendation from the Duke of Ormond to Clarendon* and Arlington†, then the principal ministers of Charles II.

With Clarendon, whose influence had begun to decline‡, Temple had occasional communication, but was no admirer of his policy or character. Of Arlington, whose weight increased with the diminution of Clarendon's, Temple soon became the zealous and avowed adherent. "There was a something, as Arlington thought, in their genius, that

* Clarendon was still Chancellor, First Lord of the Treasury, and principal minister. Wriothesly Lord Southampton was High Treasurer; Lord Arlington and Sir William Morice, Secretaries of State; the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the Household. All these appear to have been confidential ministers; but whether they, and they only, composed what we now call the Cabinet, cannot easily be ascertained. The correspondence mentions a committee of foreign affairs, but its members are not named. In addition to those above named, Prince Rupert was probably a member. William Coventry was admitted in 1663. He was, according to Burnet, the best speaker in the house, and a man of great talents and virtues. (i. 290.) Clarendon styles him proud and ill-natured. (Life, ii. 200.) He was a son of Lord Keeper Coventry. Born 1626; died 1686.—Collins, iii. 751.

† Henry Bennet. He was born in 1618, of an ancient family, and served Charles I. in the civil wars. He adhered to the fortunes of Charles II.; and on October 2. 1662, succeeded Sir Edward Nicolas as Secretary of State. He was created Lord Arlington in 1663, and Earl in 1672. He had at one time embraced the Roman Catholic religion, but did not openly profess it in England until the moment of his death. His character has been variously drawn: it is pretty clear that his principles had all the flexibility which the court of Charles II. required. (See Biog. Dict. iv. 454.) Burnet calls him "a proud and insolent man." (i. 170.) Hume says, "of the whole cabal, Arlington was the least dangerous by his vices or his talents. His judgment was sound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted judgment and integrity to persevere in them. (vii. 460.) Clarendon, who did not like him, speaks of his pleasant and agreeable humour. (Life, ii. 197.) By the author of the Memoirs of Grammont, he was thought a dull man, and is the object of much ridicule. James II. evidently deemed him weak. (i. 435.) He died in 1685.

‡ Clarendon's Life, ii. 229.

agreed." Temple availed himself of this acquaintance to represent his desire of employment abroad, but he objected to a northern climate, and thus, apparently, missed an appointment to the court of Sweden, which, on his refusal, was assigned to Mr. Henry Coventry.*

Temple therefore continued in private life for some time longer. During the summer of 1665, the year of the plague, he resided at Sheen, and planned the purchase of a small house at that place, which the neighbourhood of Lord Leicester†—for the old friendship of the Temples and Sidneys was not extinct—made particularly agreeable to him.

But an opportunity now occurred of introducing him into the diplomatic service.

* Another son of the Lord Keeper. Clarendon says he was a much wiser man than his brother. Secretary of State, 1671 to 1679. Born 1618; died 1686.

† Robert, second Earl, son of the Earl mentioned in p. 2., father of Lord Lisle; born about 1596; died in 1677.

CHAPTER III.

TEMPLE'S MISSION TO THE BISHOP OF MUNSTER. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH ARLINGTON, AND DEVOTION TO HIM. — HIS SENSITIVENESS. — HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE RESIDENCY AT BRUSSELS. — SEQUEL OF THE MUNSTER AFFAIR.

Not long after the King of England had declared war against the Dutch, the Chancellor Clarendon was one day surprised by a request for a private audience, by a person who looked like a carter, and spoke ill English.* He nevertheless turned out to be an English gentleman, who had become a Benedictine monk, and had been known in that character to Clarendon, when he was at Cologne with the King. He now brought letters from the Bishop of Munster.

This little potentate was, by Temple's account, "made considerable only by his situation, which lay the fittest of all others to invade Holland; and by the dispositions of the man, which were unquiet, and ambitious to raise a name in the world." †

* Clarendon's Life, ii. 218.

† Temple, ii. 214. The name of this ecclesiastical prince was Christopher Bernard Von Ghalen. Temple ascribes his "old implacable hatred to the Dutch to their intelligence with his chief town of Munster, their usurpation (as he pretends) of Borkloe and some other small places in his country, their protection of the Countess of Bentheim, and his hopes of sharing Overyssel or Friesland, if ever their spoils came to be divided." Munster lies about three degrees eastward of Rotterdam, being situated on the river Aa, not far from its influx into the Ems.

With these views he now offered, upon the payment of a certain sum of money, to enter the United Provinces with 20,000 men. The Chancellor thought that "the advantage offered looked as if it came from heaven;" and the Bishop was encouraged to send over a regular envoy. Then came a Baron Wreden, "a very proper man, and well-bred," who persuaded the English ministers not only that his master would accomplish all that he undertook, but that France would do nothing to his prejudice *; though the Dutch were the friends of Louis.

Accordingly, Arlington made a treaty † with Wreden, by which the Bishop was bound, in consideration of 500,000 rixdollars, to be paid in three instalments, to bring his forces against the Dutch. It was thought desirable to conceal the transaction so long as possible; but a person was immediately wanted, to superintend the payment of the instalments, to see that the Bishop performed his part of the treaty, and to consult with him as to the co-operation, which the treaty also contemplated, of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neuburg.

The affair was in this state, when Temple, being then at Sheen, was roused one morning at four o'clock by a messenger from Lord Arlington, who desired to see him without delay. On his

* In fact, Louis no sooner heard of the treaty, than he gave notice to the Bishop, that "if he attacked the States, he would find his forces ready for their defence." — Louis to Count d'Estrades, 17th of July, 1665; iii. 240.

† London, June 13. 1665. — Arlington, i. 1.

arrival, the minister put his zeal and friendship to the test, by asking him whether he would be ready to go, in three or four days, upon an unnamed and secret service. Temple, after a little consideration, told Arlington that he, the secretary himself, was his friend, and, since he might not mention the subject to any other person, he would ask and follow his advice. "That will be," said Arlington, "to accept the offer, whether you like it or not;" and then explained to him the object of the mission to Munster. He made him the compliment to say, "That he had been perplexed to think of a person that was not only capable of the affair and of the secret, but was to be trusted with such a sum of money*" as that which was to be paid to the Bishop.

Although somewhat unwilling to leave his family, exposed to the dangers of the plague, which raged in and about London, and unacquainted with the place of his destination, Temple obeyed and departed.

Of the money, Temple, "averse from charging himself with any body's money but his own," declined taking charge. An alderman from London was sent to Antwerp to perform that part of the affair.† Temple was instructed‡ to encourage the

* To Sir John Temple, Oct. 6. 1663.—i. 212.

† The remittance of the money was contemplated, and, as we shall presently see, not without reason, as a matter of the greatest difficulty. "Of the three places," says Clarendon, "proposed by the agent, besides the secrecy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign 1000*l.* in the month to be paid upon Cologne or Frankfort, nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with more than 20,000*l.* in three months' time." Barings and Rothschilds were scarce in those days.

‡ June 22. 1665. See Appendix B.

Bishop, by assurances of confidence and money, to a strict fulfilment of his treaty. "You shall represent to him the strength of our naval forces, the wonderful alacrity with which our people * come to the support of it, together with the success it has pleased God to have given us already."† His instructions contemplated an extensive league against France, among the princes of Germany; and he was accredited to the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Neuburg, in order that, if the Bishop should think it fit, he might proceed to negotiate for their co-operation.

In obedience to these instructions, Temple went over, by Brussels, to Coesvelt, where he found the Bishop.

Those who are acquainted with Temple's dispatches, will recognise in his first diplomatic report‡ the plainness and frankness which always characterised them. "I was brought to the Bishop alone in his cabinet, where, after I had said what I thought most proper according to my instructions, he told me that he thought himself much honoured by this alliance which the King had made with his servant; that he desired the King would esteem

* The Commons voted 2,500,000*l.* for carrying on the war, to which, indeed, they had excited the King by their vote of April 22. 1664, when they "pledged their lives and fortunes" to assist him in avenging "the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities done to him by the Dutch."— See Parl. Hist. iv. 292. 317.

† On the 3d of June, 1665, James, Duke of York, obtained an undoubted but ill-pursued victory over Admiral Opdam, off Southwold Bay, in Suffolk. This was the occasion on which Brouncker, one of the Duke's gentlemen, issued an order for shortening sail, while his master was asleep.— James, i. 405. Campbell, ii. 251.

‡ Antwerp, July 24. 1665. Select Letters, p. 1.

him as one of his ministers in this affair; that he would perform all points of the treaty with truth, plainness, and *like a German.*" The Bishop had found the Dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg so cold, that he had not ventured to acquaint them with his treaty. His mystification of the Dutch he carried rather further. "Nothing imported so much at present as secrecy; for which reason he had entertained the offer of a treaty made him by the Dutch two days before my arrival, with design of according all differences between them; that he answered, he was very willing, and had taken time to make his demands; that by this amusement he was resolved to have his revenge, by falling upon them, as they did last year upon him, in the very time of treaty." After setting forth his exertions in order to take the field on the 20th of August, "he desired to know frankly whether he might rely upon the second payment at the time* or no. I found him tender in this point, and so resolved to punish him no more; and told him all I had said to press him to take the field by the time the second payment should be ready, proceeded only from my own zeal for the King's service, and desire to see some sudden diversion given, though it began with something shorter forces than was agreed; but from the King I had commission to assure him that all parts of the treaty, and that among them, should be exactly performed." . . . . After this the Baron of Wreden came in, and made the third at supper,

* That is, in July, the time specified for the payment of 150,000 rix-dollars as the second instalment.

so that I was with the Bishop about four hours that night. The next morning I was sent for about eight o'clock. He then desired I would deal frankly with him, as he had, and always should, with me," —of this we shall presently have an opportunity of judging,—and again pressed earnestly for the second payment. Temple again assured him "there was not the least doubt of it." . . . . He desired me to kiss the King's hand on his part, and assure the King that he would perform all he had undertaken like a man of plainness and truth and honour. . . . . "I took my leave, having exchanged the ratification of the treaty, and seen the acquittance for the money."*

His brief intercourse with the Bishop sufficed to enable Temple to form a decisive opinion of his character; more decisive, perhaps, than accurate. The character of Von Ghalen is at this time of no great importance; but its delineation by Temple strikingly illustrates his readiness to give credit to professions of plain dealing and sincerity. "I find the Bishop of Munster to be a man of about fifty-five years old, of very firm body and health, of slow and soft speech, but good heart and thoughts; he sleeps little, is temperate, rather loves to hear than talk much; is taken up with nothing but his books, thinks and disposes all himself: I should guess him to be a man very firm and steady in all his resolutions; true and sincere and of great honour; of sound natural sense; and though he be undertaking, yet I think not rashly, but rather moved by a

* The first instalment.

warmth of heart than head; he seems bent to revenge upon the Hollanders as much as to greaten himself; he is in perfect confidence with the Elector of Mentz, to whose clue he has given part of the treaty; he has great intelligence in all parts, and, I find, is in very general great esteem among the Germans."* . . . . "I am sure my head aches at this time as much as your lordship's ever did; 'tis all I can ever pretend to be like you in, unless the faith wherewith you serve his Majesty, and the heartiness wherewith you oblige your friend."

Thus in three days the new *diplomate* accomplished the first part of his object.

Temple's report gave entire satisfaction to his court.† "In one word," writes Lord Arlington, "the account you give of all committed to your care is entirely approved of; and I foresee, by this your beginning, your friends will have little to answer for in your behalf at the end of your negotiation, if you continue as you begin."‡

This was reasonable and satisfactory commendation; but Temple, who, according even to his warm admirers, was subject to "cruel fits of spleen and melancholy §," began, even at this early period, to complain of grievances. His first complaint, indeed, was reasonable enough. The irregular ad-

* See another character of the Bishop by Temple, drawn somewhat later, in a letter to his father, Sept. 6. i. 211.

† In his letter to his father, Sept. 6. 1665 (i. 212.), Temple mentions a treaty signed by him. None such is to be found. He probably referred to the ratification of Arlington's treaty.

‡ July 21. 1665. — Arlington, p. 14. Arlington used the old style, Temple the new. The new style is to be presumed, in all dates except those of Arlington's letters.

§ Lady Giffard, in folio 1731, p. 19.

ministration of Charles's finance occasioned real inconvenience to his servants abroad. Temple's allowances were not duly paid: that he should be importuned by his creditors, was natural; but some exaggeration may be suspected, in the estimate which he formed of the effects of this embarrassment. "That which most afflicts me, in all this, is to find that some here, whose friendship I had great assurance of, begin to take this occasion of lessening my credit, and making me pass for a person that had engaged myself further than I am able to perform, and that all I talk of what is owing to me in England is empty and vain, as all expectations of that nature are like to prove; and all this they endeavour to infuse, even there where I most desire, and it most concerns me, to pass for an honest man, and sufficient at least for what I undertake." . . . . "I hope, if your lordship and my other friends will, by your endeavours in my favour, help me to what you know is my due, I shall hold up my head as high as the best of them, and, against my nature, prove a little insolent whenever I am not used so well as I know I deserve, especially by such as have nothing to do with me or my affairs." . . . . "I must end as I began, begging your lordship to take care of my particular concerns that lie in your hands, and the more because I apply myself nowhere else: the reason of that, and which must bear me out in all other troubles I give you, is, my lord, to tell you a truth, that you are one of those great persons whom I do not only honour and esteem, but love too, if you

will give me leave to say so; and you must esteem it no presumption, since God Almighty himself commands we should love him as well as honour and serve him: but no more, because this is already too much." * It certainly *was* too much; but it is necessarily recorded here, in illustration of the strength of the attachment which Temple professed towards his early patron, and of the exaggerated language in which he was accustomed to express it. Similar language pervades all his letters to Lord Arlington, whose answers, it must be owned, are in a style of more commendable plainness. To Temple's first application he replied: — "Some days since I received your letter of the 4th, your style. I hope by this time you have received satisfaction as to the second payment. † Your friends here, knowing your necessity, have stretched to the utmost for you, so that I long to hear to what degree you are satisfied." ‡ In answer to the grandiloquent epistle just cited, the minister merely referred Temple to the information which he would receive from Lord Carlingford §, about to visit Brussels, as to the care taken to enable Alderman Backwell to go on with his payments. ‖

We have not Arlington's answer to another application at this time ¶ made by Temple. "Although,

* Brussels, Aug. 28.

† This means the second payment to the Bishop; but it appears that Temple's allowances were defrayed out of the same funds.

‡ Sarum, Aug. 6. — Arl. 17.

§ An Irish Roman Catholic Peer, of the name of Taaffe.

‖ Sarum, Aug. 26. p. 19.

¶ Antwerp, Aug. 4. 1665.

in so long a scribble as this, a suit to your lordship is not likely to be welcome, especially when it is to no more purpose than that I may not be forgotten upon the next election into the Commons House, which I should not presume to mention, had not his Majesty been pleased to do it himself before my coming away. My Lord of Ormond has spoken to me so often about it, that I know he will share the trouble of speaking to my lord chancellor; and I have reason to believe your lordship has more favour for me than I can ever live to deserve, though I am sure I shall never live to forget it."

The sensitive mind of Temple was now exposed to a new uneasiness. Lord Carlingford was at this time appointed envoy extraordinary to the Emperor Leopold, and was instructed * not only to confer with Temple in his way, but to communicate with the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, the Bishop of Munster himself, and other princes who lay in his way to Vienna.

Nothing could be more harmless or civil than the dispatch in which this appointment is first announced to Temple. "His Majesty has dispatched away my Lord Carlingford to the Emperor's court. He is first to see the Marquis, but not till he has spoken with you, to instruct him what he should say; so that you must open yourself entirely to him in all that affair, and accordingly he will show you his instruction †, and be directed by you in all things." . . . . "We do what we can to divert

* Arl. 121.

† See Arl. 21. Lord C. was to transfer the communication with Brandenburg to Temple, if the Bishop thought it better.

France from molesting the Bishop, and accordingly have lately humoured them in offering something towards a treaty with Holland, which we hear takes reasonably well with them; notwithstanding which, we cannot be confident of them in the end, such is their partiality to Holland. But, if at the worst, it will gain the Bishop some time, we have great part of our end. We long to hear he hath begun." * Lord Arlington did not, in this dispatch, refer at all to Temple's private concerns; but there was surely nothing in the communication to produce *this* reply: —

"Since my last of the 7th instant, I have received your lordship's of August the 24th, and shall make the best use I can of all the advertisements or directions I there find, though it must be another sort of dispatch which must enable me, or any other person here, to act or write anything worth your lordship's knowledge. For my part I am resolved to give you no further trouble in that particular concern of mine, about which I have written so much already, but find myself in the same posture I was in a month since; and begin to wish my friends had rather never begun, than so soon given over to assist me." †

Before he received this querulous epistle (to which we have not his reply), Arlington, perhaps distrusting Temple upon a point of this nature, "conjured him to fall to work with Lord Carlingford with all candour and openness, taking each of them the shares belonging to them." ‡

* Aug. 24. 1665. p. 17. † Sept. 15. ‡ Aug. 26. p. 20.

In denying the necessity of this caution, Temple shows that it sprang from an accurate knowledge of his disposition.

" I gave his lordship all the light I had myself in my affairs, and after that your lordship need not doubt his good management of all his own : for the rest, though it be much honour to me to be thought capable of assisting him further than with bare information, yet I think it would be both a little insolent in me to offer at it, and, besides, I am, I confess, something backward to admire the saying of anything which I am not to hear delivered, knowing how great mistakes are made in the passage from one mouth to another, especially if men are different in their genius, or the course of their thoughts. For your lordship conjuring me in one of your letters to all candour and openness with his lordship, I assure you that you never said any thing so little necessary; for I hope you know that your commands can never need any conjurations to endear them with me; and, besides, *I know my duty so well as to value all persons, as well as all coins, according to that rate which his Majesty is pleased to put upon them,* which would oblige me to live with my Lord Carlingford as becomes me, though his own personal worth did not engage me; so that, if your lordship will take care that we live long enough together, for living well together we shall take care ourselves. For what touches my own particular in this affair, I am very glad his Majesty has found a person who, by many several advantages and sorts of abilities, must needs acquit himself

much better than I could have done, both of those parts which were before committed to me, and lay here at my hand, as well as to many others which I see he is intrusted with. That his Majesty pleases to keep me low, both in credit and in money too, at the same time he continues so great a trust of one kind in me, I esteem a great testimony of his Majesty's good opinion, which I shall die rather than fail; and that I find the journey of Brandenburg is alone designed for me, whilst the others of ease and neighbourhood are recalled, I esteem a trial of my obedience, and am only sorry that I have not yet given testimonies enough of it, and that I have now no greater laid upon me; for that I shall not fail to undertake (whatever hardship it is attended with) so soon as the person I am to be steered by advises me to it: but I must needs take this occasion to ask your lordship whether his Majesty thinks I either want or deserve more money to support me abroad, and to put you in mind that what I received was designed but for a three weeks' journey, which is now expired, since I engaged in the preparation for it; besides that, I remember the sum itself was not, in the Duke of Ormond's and your lordship's opinion, thought proportioned with much advantage to that time itself, but suited rather to the meanness of my quality and merits than to the occasion. I will only say further, that, as I have never made the value of one penny advantage in any kind since I came over, and am now in very little likelihood of doing it, by the diverting of the

business designed me into another hand, so I have met with much more expense than I looked for, living in a country that requires it, and having so often been forced to send expresses during my stay here to a place not safely reached any other way, and finding it my business to excuse and encourage as much on one hand as to press and complain on the other. I am thinking, upon Sir George Downing's departure from hence, whether it would not be necessary for his Majesty to have a constant resident in this court, having none left in all these countries, and that it would be easy for such a person here to knit and maintain with small intelligences, not only in Holland, but in the armies and courts of the neighbour princes of Germany; besides a necessity, which is like to grow every day, of correspondence with this court itself. If I did not know it becomes me to think his Majesty may find out much fitter persons for this employment, I should make an humble offer of my service in it, and undertake to give a good account of it, perhaps with little more charge than will be in keeping me hereabout, only to attend that single trust which is now left in me; and which, after the arrival of that dispatch I have so long looked for (but yet hear nothing of), will grow to be very small: and I should here be ready for that service, or any other journeys his Majesty's affairs might engage me to. I know not how I shall excuse such a letter as this but by saying I had nothing else to write, besides the acknowledgment of your lordship's of the 3d inst. *s. v.*, which came lately to my

hands; yet this I may safely add, that I have never before troubled your lordship with one word concerning myself, nor shall at this time or upon this occasion trouble any body else, but leave all with this paper in your hands — *cum sis rerum tutela mearum.*"*

This long expostulation was acknowledged by Lord Arlington in a very friendly tone: —

"Your letter of the 22d has no news in it, or history, but of your own melancholy, which I was sorry to hear. I wonder you would imagine that my Lord Carlingford's credentials are any diminution of yours. It was fit his Majesty should send a person of that rank to the Emperor; and, doing so, could he excuse the seeing all princes in his way from whom we may fairly promise ourselves any good-will?" After other words of confidence and encouragement, he gives him a more substantial proof of regard. "His Majesty," he continues, "on Monday removes to Oxford, and there I shall move the establishing you at Brussels as you desire; and I am persuaded that it would be of infinite use that you be so, for his Majesty's service. Likewise, there shall be care taken to furnish you with present money; and let me beg of you, in one word, to believe that neither your person nor services are undervalued by any body; and that a greater mortification could not befall me, than, loving you and esteeming you as I do, to see you either neglected or forgotten."†

* Sept. 22. 1665. Horace Epist. i. addressed to Mecænas, l. 103.
† Sept. 23. 1665. p. 30.

Temple had in the meantime reiterated his application, in a letter somewhat remarkable: —

"I should not have presumed to make an humble offer of my service, as I did lately to your lordship, if I had observed that it was an employment which any person that I had heard of had either entered into with great quality, or left with great fortunes; but that which, I confess, makes me wish it, is, that I do not foresee how I can be in any other way of so much use to his Majesty, and that I apprehend my fitness * for such employment among the German princes, by reason of my ignorance of their language, and *another invincible ill quality which lies often in the way both of business and entertainment:* besides, I find my present affair, though it looks another way, yet it is in a manner to be wholly administered here, and attended little in any other place." † The waywardness of Temple's disposition here leads him to acknowledge unfitness for employment in Germany, at the moment of his complaining that he has been superseded in his commission to treat with German princes. We are quite at a loss to ascertain the nature of the disqualification of which Temple accuses himself, as peculiarly applicable to employment in Germany. He could hardly designate, as an ill quality, his habitual temperance, and we know not why the sensitiveness, which might doubtless impede his success as well in private society as in public affairs, should pecu-

* He means, that he doubts his fitness, or apprehends his unfitness.
† October 2.

liarly affect him at German courts. Perhaps, the "ill quality" is the indescribable "*spleen*,"—and the passage itself was written in a fit of that disorder.

When Temple's next letter was written, the disorder had abated: it affords a notable illustration of his character and habits.

"We (Lord Carlingford and Temple) either deceived one another, or parted with much regret, having, I assure you, during his stay here, lived together in a conversation the most open and friendly that could be, and engaged ourselves at parting in a correspondence both of letters and kindness. And after this sort I shall ever treat with all persons that have the honour of the King's commands, or your lordship's friendship. How merry and orderly a life we led, I need not tell, nor that we drank your lordship's health with the best wine and hearts we could find. The Baron of Wreden was, I think, twice a day of some old drunken philosopher's opinion, that the world was round, and in no further care for his master than drinking his health. My Lord Carlingford is acknowledged by all for the invincible knight, and if the Austrian house should fail in his journey, may pull hard for the empire, if the German princes are as wise as valiant in their drink. For my part, I came off still with colours flying, as every man may do that will fly with them himself. I am, I confess, ashamed to think how much honour our master will get by his lordship in Germany, and how little by me; but this infirmity God only can help, as Sancho says of his

parents, for malice your lordship could not believe it, if you knew how much pains I have taken with myself in this kind since I came over; but I begin now to despair of a reformation, and can attribute this hardness of heart to nothing but my sins. Since your lordship can turn all my carking and complaints into good-humour, I'll try if I can do so too for once, and, therefore, *à propos de boire*, — do you know that the sea has drunk up half our tin * to the Hollanders' good health, being without doubt the best friend they have. God send this frolic ended, not to the Bishop's confusion; but that element will never be in league with these inland princes, especially the Germans, that are such declared enemies of water, and never have any thing to do with it, unless it be a dropsy or so. Well, God knows how many poor innocent *soles* † were knocked on the head last Monday morning by two hundred ton of our tin, in the two biggest ships, which was not half so long going under as it has been coming over seas: but that only by the way; I could not forbear it, nor saying that whoever his Majesty was pleased to employ at London in the charge of this embarkment, some five or six weeks since, were doubtless very honest gentlemen: but if I should serve the King in my station as they have done in theirs, I should think I deserved to be hanged, and am afraid there would not be many of another mind. But all this is a good

* The tin which was sent to Ostend, for the purpose of effecting a payment to the Bishop of Munster.

† A pun of the seventeenth century.

lucky hit for the good alderman and me, who, if we had been to cry about our tin here, till we had sold the whole quantity that was intrusted us, we had certainly been taken for a couple of tinkers. The alderman, God be thanked, has a better trade, but he swears I should be content to trudge it a year upon condition I could mend this hole in our business; but to do that will require better workmen than either of us." . . . "The bishop acts vigorously, and his agent hopes that there may soon be thunder at the very walls of Amsterdam. For the rest, my lord, what in the name of God shall I say to his agents here, as to the express that comes full-mouthed upon the old errand? I never was in worse case to give him an answer." After stating difficulties as to the payments to the Bishop, — "I hope you will pardon us both if we have deceived you, and his Majesty forgive me, if, to animate this brave resolution, I have engaged his credit and the utmost of my own, to make it believed that, in spite of all the unlucky accidents which have hitherto traversed our intentions, all agreements shall be punctually and suddenly performed. It becomes not me to say or think I have done his Majesty half the service I ought upon this occasion; but, because I can never have the honour of doing him so much again in my low station, I should be much satisfied to know how he is pleased to accept of my good intentions, and to think that more could not be done, though a better man had been from the first employed." . . . "We are stunned these three days with re-

ports from all places and persons of an absolute ruinous defeat, given by the storms and our fleet and coasts to the whole Dutch fleet, of which I am resolved, till I hear it from England, not to believe one word, for fear of breaking my heart with another disappointment." *

The laconic Arlington took little notice of this, which he describes as a letter "mingled with mirth and melancholy." † But he soon obtained the King's commands to establish his friend in the residency. ‡ It thus appears to have been at his own solicitation, seconded by Lord Arlington, that Temple received his first regular appointment in the King's diplomatic service.

The ready kindness of his patron deserved Temple's gratitude; but the mode in which he expressed it is not worthy of imitation: — "Your Lordship's of the 8th current requires more than common acknowledgment, in making of which to his Majesty I must beg your Lordship's mediation; for, whatever it is in religious, I think it is good manners in civil worship, for a person so low as I am not to offer up either his petitions or his thanks without some intercession; and I desire your Lordship's upon the same ground that makes my neighbours here always choose some saint, to whom they profess a more particular devotion: I will only say, that his Majesty, by the honour and trust he is pleased to intend me, *mi a echado hierros calientes en el corazon* §; and has made a mark

* Sept. 29. 1665. † Sept. 28. p. 31. ‡ Oct. 8. p. 33.
§ Has thrust hot irons into my heart.

there too deep for time or weather to wear out: for my own part I shall think it happens well or ill to me, according to the service I shall be able to return; and whatever provision is made for me, shall never omit any thing which may tend towards his Majesty's honour and advantage. I will say nothing to your Lordship, because I know you have an interest in all your favour to me, and are concerned in the fortunes of a person so much grown, and who belongs to you by so entire and undoubted an acquisition."*

The success of the arrangement with the bishop did not respond to the activity with which it was made. For a time, all went well: the prelate received his first instalment, raised his troops to eighteen thousand men, without the least umbrage given to the Dutch †; and then surprised them by an irruption into the United Provinces.

But, contrary to the opinion of Temple, who saw no other way of putting a sudden end to the war, and thought the King's money more properly applied to subsidies than to ships ‡, the operations of the Bishop had no lasting influence upon affairs. Among the Dutch it was endeavoured "to make the Munster war a business of religion, and so give the King's counsels in it as much of the Spanish colour as they could." § This was an artifice for embroiling the King of England with his Protestant and jealous people. Charles, although, perhaps thinking it the most convenient and in-

* Oct. 27. 1665. † To Sir John Temple. Sept. 6. 1665. i. 211.
‡ July 24. § Oct. 9. 1665.

dulgent, he had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, cared not enough for any religion to go to war in its interests. "I very much doubt," says Temple, "whether there was ever yet any war of religion, or ever will be; though, perhaps, hardly any without the pretences.*

From the loss already mentioned of the tin, and other causes, difficulties arose in making the further payments stipulated by the treaty; and the Bishop, who declared, with many professions of regard for Temple, that "nothing should be able to force him from his league with England†," was threatened by the French, and soon exhibited symptoms of defection.‡ The English minister heard himself reproached for having drawn the Bishop into a desperate adventure, against his own resolutions; and urged Lord Arlington to take speedy measures for supplying the money, that he might not "look like the veriest rogue in the world, and such as it would not be much for his honour to employ."

The Bishop kept to his treaty until after France had openly declared war§ against England; but Temple, though well informed of negotiations with the Dutch, in the spring of 1666 could not be "startled" by it, or lose his "confidence in the faith and honour, as well as constancy||," of the Bishop. He persisted in this confidence, notwithstanding that he had reason to dispute the Bishop's

* Oct. 9. 1666. † Feb. 12. 1666. i. 444, 445.
‡ To Lord Arlington, Oct. 13. i. 215. § January, 1666.
|| March 19. 1666, and March 31.

agent, Baron Wreden. With this gentleman he had carried on a familiar correspondence*; but he now suspected him of doing him and his country "ill offices with his master, for want of knowing the difference between the courts and affairs of a great king and a little German prince."

Arlington sent over some money, but instructed Temple to attend a conference at Dortmund with the Bishop of Munster and the ministers of Brandenburg and other towns, with a view to the re-establishment of peace within the circle of Westphalia, and between the Dutch and the Bishop, from whom the invitation came to England. The object was not clearly explained, and was, in all probability, only to amuse. The greater, therefore, was the compliment to Temple.† "His Majesty thought he could not do better, nor more securely to his affairs, than to commit this employment to you, and to leave you in the prosecution of it to follow that good talent which God has given you." He was furnished with full powers‡, and ordered to get on horseback, and go straight to the Bishop's court, there to be instructed by him what he should further do. The sequel introduces us to some of the tricks of diplomacy, and exhibits the sense entertained at court of Temple's mode of negotiating, which had already become characteristic:—"I need not mind you of losing nothing in the exterior part that will be due to your character, and the master

* See i. 220.
† Lord Arlington. March 16. and 23. 1666. pp. 65—67.
‡ Dated April 9. 1666. Museum.

that sends you. And, perhaps, your troublesome insisting upon the punctilios therein may be of better use than any of that *candour* and *ingenuity** you so much abound in. For, whatever may be the business of the Bishop, ours is to render ineffectual all the designed negotiations; and, perhaps, the Bishop may be so open to you as to tell you it is his mind too. And, therefore, notwithstanding the ample power given you in your commission to introduce you to hear and know all that passes, yet, when upon any transaction you shall come to a conclusion, you must endeavour to make none; but, by the pretence of fresh letters, expose the necessity of knowing his Majesty's pleasure anew. And in one word, play this farce as skilfully as you can, which you will be the better enabled to do, when you shall have engaged the Bishop to open himself clearly to you, declaring you have no instructions but to follow those he will give you." Temple was much gratified with the appointment, but took no notice of the singular hints with which it was accompanied. "Your Lordship's of March 23d, with the enclosed credentials and papers, came this day to my hands, and surprised me enough, as your Lordship may well imagine, with the suddenness of the journey and greatness of the trust, which I know carries great honour with it by the mark of his Majesty's good opinion and confidence; but with it, greater cares, how to deserve the first and acquit myself of the other, in such an employment. All

* Ingenuousness.

that I can say to it is obedience, for whoever gives himself up so entirely as I have done to the service of his master, ought not to reason upon any of his commands." *

The Bishop, who had requested the presence of a British agent, now withdrew his application, probably because his own mind, in spite of the vigorous remonstrances of Temple †, was made up to a separate peace. The meeting of ministers did not take place, and Temple's journey, in which he was instructed to use post-haste, was countermanded. The counter order, however, travelled too slowly for Temple, who, after too many of his usual disclaimers of ability ‡, started immediately for his place of destination. The counter-order was followed by a second order § to proceed, it being now notified that a meeting was to be held at Cleves. ‖ But it was in obedience to his original orders that our active diplomatist made a rapid and secret journey, in the assumed character of a Spanish envoy, from Brussels to Munster, —just in time to hear of the signature of a separate treaty ¶ between the Bishop and the Dutch!

His journey was full of adventures. He went

* Antwerp, April 6. † March 12. i. 233.

‡ April 8. "I shall proceed in my journey with the best diligence I can possibly, and in my business with the best skill I ever have about me, of which much must not be expected from so plain a man; but the want of that must be made up by the desire of doing well."

§ April 10. Arlington, 72.

‖ In his letters to Sir John Temple, Sir William mentions his order to go to Cleves, as if they originated in information about secret negotiations. But Arlington's letters distinctly state that the intention to hold the meeting was notified to the King by Wreden.

¶ April 18. 1666. Dumont vi. part 3. p. 106.

by Dusseldorf, to Dortmund, "through a savage country, over cruel hills, through many great and thick woods, strong and rapid streams, never hardly in any highway, and very few villages." At Dortmund he found the gates shut, and "with all his eloquence, which he made as moving as he could, he was not able to prevail to have them opened." He was obliged to sleep upon straw at a near village, where his page served as a pillow. On reaching a castle belonging to the Bishop, he was received with great honour, and instructed "in the most episcopal way of drinking possible." The vessel was a bell of silver gilt, of the capacity of two quarts or more. The general who entertained him took out the clapper, and gave it to his guest, filled the bell, and drank off the contents to the King's health, replaced the clapper and turned down the bell, in proof of the accomplishment of the draft. This ceremony went though the company, only Temple drank by deputy. "The next day, after noon, about a league from Munster, the Bishop," he says, "met me at the head of four thousand horse, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very fast, came a guard of one hundred Heydukes that he had brought from the last campaign in Hungary: they were in short coats and caps all of a brown colour, every man carrying a sabre by his side, a short poll-axe before him, and a screwed gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went across his shoulder. In this posture they run almost at full speed, and in excellent order, and were said to

shoot two hundred yards with their screwed gun, and a bullet of the bigness of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar or crown piece. When the coach came within forty yards of me it stopped: I saw the Bishop, and his General the Prince d'Homberg, come out, upon which I alighted, so as to meet him between my horses and his coach. After compliments, he would have me go into his coach, and sit alone at the back end, reserving the other to himself and his general: I excused it, saying, I came without character; but he replied, that his agent had written him word I brought a commission which styled me *oratorem nostrum* (as was true), and that he knew what was due to that style from a great king. I never was nice in taking any honour that was offered to the King's character, and so easily took this; but from it, and a reception so extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill presage of my business, and to think of the Spanish proverb, —

> " *Quien te hace mas corte que no suelen hacer,*
> *Ote ha d' enganner, ote ha menester.*" *

Temple was by this time well nigh cured of his confidence in the Bishop. He " set the best countenance he could upon an ill game, but was extreme in pain how he should entertain the certainty of what he feared; whether with indignation and contempt, or with show of his Majesty's being rather content to save so much money, than throw

* " Whoever pays you more court than he is accustomed to pay, either intends to deceive you, or finds you necessary to him."

it away upon designs, that by the crossing of so many princes seemed wholly desperate of success." *

The Bishop's conduct justified the old saw. Having conducted his intended dupe with all these honours to Munster, he would have left him to repose in the chamber provided for him, without saying a word on business; but our minister after some trouble brought him to sit down where they were, and enter upon affairs without ceremony. The German acknowledging that necessities had compelled him to negotiate at Cleves, pretended an intention to make a stop in it on Temple's arrival, and to send a special messenger to England for directions. Temple treated all these fables with indifference; and had no sooner bowed out the priestly warrior, than private information came "to spoil the supper" to which he prepared to sit down: this was, that the treaty had been already signed at Cleves.

The Bishop persevered in his system: the next day he "made a mighty feast among all his chief officers, where they sat for four hours;" and Temple, whether inspired by the episcopal presence, or hoping to drown his disappointment, now "drank fair with all the rest." On the morrow the Bishop, with great professions of regard, confessed that the treaty had proceeded farther than he thought. He received coldly the sharp and unavailing reproaches of the English minister, and strove hard to detain

* Munster, April 18. 1666.

him at Munster until another instalment of the subsidy should have arrived. It would appear, too, that he endeavoured to conciliate Temple by personal favours; as Temple found it necessary to decline "any reward or engagement, or so much as common use might make due to his character at leaving, until he knew whether the King of England would consider the Bishop as a friend or an enemy." An hour of conference was named for the next day, in which Temple pretended to acquiesce: but in order to defeat the scheme for obtaining the money, this indefatigable man, though suffering a little through his departure from his usual temperance, got on horseback before daybreak instead of retiring to rest, and rode hard to a frontier village, distant eight leagues. There he pretended to go to bed, but took fresh horses at the back-door of the inn, while the rest of the company thought him a-bed, and rode till eight at night, through the wildest country and most unfrequented ways he ever saw. He was now quite spent, and ready to fall from his horse: he lay down on the ground, while his guard sought in vain at a peasant's cottage for a lodging or provisions; nothing could be procured but a little juniper water, the common cordial of the country.* Thus refreshed, he rode three leagues further, so as to get into the territory of Neuburg; and arrived at midnight at a lodging, where he lay upon straw till break of day. Then again he mounted, and

* Probably, gin.

got to Dusseldorf by noon, where he went to bed for an hour. He could now ride no longer; but borrowed the Duke of Neuburg's coach, which conveyed him to Brussels, before any further payment to the Bishop had been completed. And so ended this adventurous expedition. He had the mortification of finding, on his arrival at Brussels, that the result of his activity was likely to be destroyed, by the "wise secretary" whom he had left behind him; and who had permitted the Munster agent to take out of the English letters the bills of exchange destined for the Bishop. There was much difficulty in avoiding the payment. "If I succeed not well," Temple writes to Lord Arlington, "in this part of the affair, I lose the fruits of the hardest journey, upon my return, which I believe any man has made this seven years, as I have lost them already of more care and thought, and bent of soul, than I am sure any thing in this world is worth, unless it be the service of such a master as his Majesty. *

Assuredly Temple did suffer hardships, and even dangers, in these rapid excursions, belonging rather to a messenger than a plenipotentiary. The alternations between travelling with an escort of horse, and sleeping upon straw in a barn, with his page for a pillow, and the easy, pleasant style in which he narrates these occurrences, are indications of mental as well as bodily activity, and of a commendable zeal in the performance of his duty.

* Brussels, April 27.

Indeed the whole of the transaction is more to be celebrated for the developement of these qualities in the diplomatist, than for an instance of successful and productive diplomacy. And, "after all," observes Temple himself, "I will tell your Lordship freely, that I think all my trains had not taken fire without a perfect accident, which I had the good fortune to improve so much upon the sudden, as to make it the absolute occasion of the Bishop's taking the field when he did, which I shall some time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will serve for a moral, to show how small shadows and accidents sometimes give rise to great actions among mankind; for either such, or the beginning of such, this bold march is likely to prove." * The truth, perhaps, which this transaction illustrates, is this: — No permanent reliance is to be placed upon promises of co-operation procured by accident, management, or bribery. What those fortuitous circumstances were, by which, according to Temple, the Bishop was brought into his alliance with England, history has not told us: but it is clear that in taking part with England, strong only at sea, while France assisted the Dutch, this little continental prince took the wrong side for his own interest; and it was in the natural course that he should change on the first opportunity.

Temple was at a loss how to treat the affair in public, and to meet the various misrepresentations to which it was exposed. "Thus far I set the

* To Lord Arlington, Oct. 13. 1665. i. 218.

best countenance I can upon all ill game, but am extreme in pain how I shall entertain the certainty of what I fear, if it arrives, whether with indignation and contempt, or with show of his Majesty's being rather content to save so much money than throw it away upon designs that by the conspiring of so many princes seem wholly desperate of success. . . . . Whatever else offers itself upon the place I am sure shall not be omitted, to the utmost of what I am capable, with a bent of soul as great as can attend any affair not to my will, and a discontent of mind that would make me grow old too early if it should continue a little time with the same ill prospect and presage I have at present about me."*

Some persons thought that the peace was made with the consent of England, to save Munster until the Swedes should come down; and Temple was inclined to let it be believed that it was not made without his master's knowledge. Still he "feared that he was not so good a Christian as to forget the resentment of this injury, or to omit the effects of it whenever they could be paid home; yet he thought it to little purpose to be angry when a man hurt or shamed none but himself." — "Should his Majesty command me to make the truth public and infamous, I shall endeavour to draw it either in Latin or French, as being best acquainted with all the features and turns; though I know neither the matter nor colours are good, yet I am sure I

* Munster, April 18.

shall do it *con diligenza* and *con amore*, which the Italian says are the ingredients in all good pieces." *

The court at home was surprised at the Bishop's breach of engagement, but attached to it not much importance. To Temple it was said, "His Majesty is entirely satisfied in your proceedings; and, therefore, whatever your success has been in your journey, or whatever mortification your disappointment may give you, do not believe any of it is imputed to you, or to your want of good conduct and zealous affection to his Majesty's service." † On the offer to write a pamphlet against the Bishop, Arlington observed:—"As for our discourse of him, and his affairs towards the world, his Majesty agrees with you, that the less we speak of it the better; and that for our sakes and not his, since we do not foresee any likelihood of ever having to do with him hereafter." ‡ Had the prelate, in simple sincerity, pleaded dire necessity, he might have preserved his character; but "his needless professions and protestations so often repeated, not to sign the treaty without his Majesty's leave, have divested us of all kind of credit towards what he saith." § Still, the expectant laureate is a little too severe in his remarks upon the Bishop:—

"Let Munster's prelate ever be accurst,
In whom we seek the German faith in vain;
Alas! that he should teach the English first
That fraud and av'rice in the church could reign."

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* Brussels, April 30. † Lord Arlington, April 23. p. 73.
‡ May 4. p. 76. § Ib.

The moral is more correct:—

> "Happy who never trust a stranger's will,
> Whose friendship 's in his interest understood;
> Since money giv'n but tempts him to be ill,
> When power is too remote to make him good." *

It would appear that, either the Bishop's inclination towards England was not entirely hypocritical, or Temple had really acquired an influence over him. After the breach of the alliance, hearing that the French government was about purchasing the services of the Munster troops, Temple successfully urged upon the Bishop the ingratitude of thus transferring to an enemy the troops which had been raised with English money, and suggested that *Spain* ought rather to be permitted to enlist them. †

At a later period Sir William Temple thought it necessary to make a sort of apology to his family for the part which, in the transactions with Munster, he took against the Dutch. "I was young," he said, "and very new in business, when I was first employed upon the Munster treaty. All I knew of the grounds or occasions of our late ‡ war with Holland was, that in all common conversation I found both the court and the parliament, in general, very sharp upon it; complaining of the Dutch insolences; of the great disadvantages they had brought upon our trade in general; and the

* Annus Mirabilis, stanzas 37. and 38. Scott's Dryden, ix. 111. The publication of this work shortly preceded the appointment of the author to be poet laureate. Certainly, in our specimen, the patriotism is more conspicuous than the poetry.

† i. 241. 253. 247.

‡ Letter to his brother, Sir John Temple, Oct. 10. 1667. (i. 286.)

particular injuries of their East India Company towards ours; and it was not easy to think that any should better understand the interests of the crown than our court, or the interests of the nation than the House of Commons." As Temple grew older in years and business, he found reason for changing his opinion of the court under which he had the misfortune to live, and for suspecting that the interests of the nation were not always pursued by the House of Commons. He had, indeed, some misgivings, when he found that the war was disapproved by three friends of his father,—the Earl of Northumberland *, the Earl of Leicester, and Sir Robert Long. † Still, all he knew was that we "were actually in a war, and that the best we could do was to get out of it either by success or by peace," and that the Munster treaty would promote either one or the other. He followed his instructions, as a soldier obeys his orders, without questioning their propriety. And neither these transactions, nor his account of them, expose Temple to the charge which has been insinuated ‡ against him, of arrogating to himself merit which belonged to his employer.

* Algernon Percy, born in 1602, succeeded his father as tenth earl, in 1632. He had held offices, civil and military, under Charles I., but took part against him during the civil wars, as one of the more moderate party; and he concurred with Monk in the restoration of Charles II., who immediately made him a privy councillor. (Collins, ii. 346.) Leicester married his sister.

† He was chancellor of the exchequer from 1660 to 1667.

‡ By the editor of Arlington's Letters.

CHAPTER IV.

TEMPLE RESIDENT AT BRUSSELS. — DISCUSSIONS WITH CASTEL-RODRIGO. — STATE OF AFFAIRS. — SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. — TEMPLE CREATED A BARONET. — HIS FAMILY IN DANGER FROM THE PLAGUE.

1665—1666.

TEMPLE was now * established as the representative of England, at the viceregal court of Brussels. His functions † were chiefly those of observation and report. Spain was a neutral in the existing war between England and the Dutch. The duty of the resident consisted in watching over the preservation of neutrality, and in cultivating a good understanding with the Spanish government, with a view particularly ‡ to the negotiation then in progress at Madrid for a treaty between England and Spain.

The position of Spain and England, in reference to Holland and France, tended naturally to an alliance between the former states. France, though not yet a principal party in the war, was allied with

* October, 1665. Some of the transactions narrated in the preceding chapter occurred after Temple became resident; but it was best to give the Munster story connectedly.

† No instructions to Temple, on his first appointment, are to be found; and though the intention of sending them is mentioned, it would appear that none were issued.

‡ December 11. 1665.

the Dutch, and had protected them against our ally, the Bishop of Munster. And while England had reason to dread the more active co-operation of France and Holland, especially at sea, Spain could not fail to apprehend some danger to her possessions in Flanders, from the connection between the two neighbouring powers.

Even previously to the regular appointment of Temple, the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, governor of the Netherlands for Charles II. * of Spain, had sought his acquaintance, and entered into communication with him. Temple, though without authority, did not refuse to listen to him, nor was his conduct disapproved at home.† The Spaniard, in the usual style of diplomatists, expressed a great desire for the alliance with England, which had been long under discussion; and even hinted at the accession of the Emperor, while he attempted to show that Spain had no great need of assistance. Temple kept a prudent reserve; but when the Marquis, harping upon the fall of Charles I., insinuated that the King of England, towards whom he used "such expressions of affection as a courtier, or almost a lover, could use," was in danger from his own subjects, he forced him to confess, at least

* Charles II., the last King of Spain of the house of Austria, succeeded his father, Philip IV., in Sept. 1665; the King being at that time a child of four years old, the government was in the hands of his mother, Marianne of Austria (daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III.), and her minister and confessor, the Father Nitard. This Charles was the king whose death and will produced the succession war. — Les Dates, vi. 608, 609.

† Brussels, Aug. 14., and Antwerp, Aug. 21. 1665; and Arlington, Aug. 24. p. 18.

by silence, that Charles was as safe at home as the French or the Spanish king. *

Some of Temple's observations upon the state of France savour of that readiness to entertain extravagant speculations, to which, with all his simplicity of conduct, he was too much addicted. In more than one despatch †, he contemplates (apparently upon a hint from the Marquis) a revolt of the province of Guienne, from the pressure of taxes, and its return to the allegiance of the King of England; a result, at that time as little to be expected, as at any time to be desired. His hopes of a favourable change of politics in Holland were more reasonable. There was, no doubt, much probability that a commercial nation would grow tired of a war which produced nothing but the interruption of trade, the capture of colonies, and some dubious conflicts at sea. It was not unlikely that these causes would estrange the Hollanders from France, and her friends of the war faction in Holland. But Temple either estimated too highly the strength of England, or over-rated the readiness of the English parliament to put it forth, when he looked for one more naval victory, to enable Charles to dictate terms of peace. We shall soon see how sadly his anticipations were disappointed. Englishmen were not prepared "to live three years," as Temple's patriotism suggested, "on one half of their revenues" rather than see Holland "buoyed up by the French power." ‡

* October 13. Temple, i. 215.; and Brussels, Sept. 1.
† Aug. 14. and 21. ‡ Brussels, Aug. 28. and Oct. 9.

Whether Temple also estimated too highly the influence which her fleets gave England in the affairs of Europe, it is now vain to enquire, since the mutual distrust of the King and the parliament, and the unsteadiness of Charles's counsels, deprived this influence of its full operation. And it is doubtful whether the "firm alliances," which Temple recommended, would have given to that influence its safest direction.*

Such was the position of affairs, and such the views of Temple, when he commenced his authorised discussions, and had his first regular audience of the Marquis. "I desired," he says (for in diplomatic proceedings the formal and the essential are usually blended), "that my audience might be private, and at night, and thereby excused from the attendance of the King's coaches, till my equipage should be ready."

The mode of his reception may be interesting to diplomatists. The Marquis came to the door of his room to receive him, and placed him in an arm-chair, just like that which he himself occupied; and then, which is less consistent with modern ideas, both gentlemen put on their hats.† This good beginning, however, was soon followed by an occurrence which obliged Temple to complain of disrespectful treatment. He speaks of himself as "a man new in business, and who in many parts of it has nothing to trust to besides a small proportion of plain common sense. How far

* Brussels, Oct. 27. † Nov. 20. 1665.

that has assisted or failed me, in an accident that has since happened, I must desire your Lordship's judgment; because it is fit for me to know my duty, and what degree of exactness becomes me in a matter of form as well as substance (if in business there be a difference between them)." The offence consisted in conducting him to his public audience by a back way; a disrespect which the Marquis himself acknowledged. Besides threatening to *chasser au diable* his gentlemen, whose excuses he disallowed, he asked Temple to repeat the audience. The Resident, however, thought it enough to write a civil and conciliatory letter, accepting the explanation of the Spaniard. * At home, he was thought to have herein "exercised his wit and judgment." † Enough, then, at present, of etiquette.

The Marquis received the new minister with "the greatest expressions of zeal and devotion to the King his master's service; of *resentment* ‡ of the honour done him by the resolution of the Resident at Brussels, and *wonderful compliment as to the personal choice*, as I believe," he says, "your Grace knows good words of all sorts cost no man less than his excellency. But I am very confident," he continues, "that his inclinations to us, his aversions to France, his desires of a truce with Portugal, and strict league with England, are all very hearty." §

* Dec. 18. 1665. † Arlington, Dec. 21. p. 51.

‡ Temple's use of this word furnishes one of the most striking instances of the gallicisms in style, to which Swift alludes in the preface to his Works. The French word does, or did, sometimes signify a grateful acknowledgment.

§ Temple to the Duke of Ormond, Nov. 20. 1666. i. 218.

The compliments which the Marquis paid to Temple are, perhaps, to be ascribed as much to the known disposition of the Englishman to receive such homage, as to the readiness of the Spaniard to render it. The Marquis was an adroit diplomatist, and humoured the patriotism no less than the vanity of Temple. "France," he told him, "was fraid of England, but, seeing a war inevitable, was for having the honour to begin. He would undertake to make it evident that his Majesty might in one year's time bring France into the same condition he had already brought Holland, by the navies he already maintained;" and he opened a scheme for keeping a squadron of frigates in the Mediterranean, having Sardinia, then belonging to Spain, for their place of refitment, and from the harbours on both sides of that island infesting that whole sea as they pleased, and, "without fighting, make the merchants only their business." * This destruction of the French commerce in the Mediterranean, with a descent on Gascony, and a stoppage of the wine trade, was to raise in France a sudden flame of discontent, of which England and Spain would take advantage.

Possibly Castel-Rodrigo was himself a sanguine schemer: if it was to conciliate the English Resident that he broached these plans, which left out of consideration the power of France and the activity of Louis, he paid no great compliment to Temple's sagacity.

The fleets of England, no doubt, had begun,

* Nov. 20. 1665.

under Elizabeth and under Cromwell, to acquire the high character which they have since attained, and much skill and bravery had been recently displayed; but in ascribing to our naval power, according to "the opinion entertained at Brussels," an overwhelming influence upon the affairs of Europe, Temple was not justified, either by past history, or by the events of this particular war.

. No exaggeration was required, to show that, while Holland remained the near ally of France, a close union of England, Spain, and Flanders, was necessary to the peace of Christendom. Such were the sentiments of Lord Clarendon *, who was still in the administration co-operating, officially if not cordially, with Lord Arlington.

Sir Richard Fanshaw † was now British Minister at Madrid: but Lord Sandwich ‡ was sent on an extraordinary mission to negotiate a treaty; and

* Letter to Temple, Dec. 28. 1665. i. 441. It is remarkable that no notice is taken of Temple in Lord Clarendon's history, though he relates the Munster transaction.

† Born in 1608, of a good family. He was employed in diplomacy under Charles I., and was a zealous royalist. Member for Cambridge University, in 1661, and privy counsellor in 1663. Successively ambassador to Portugal and Spain. Died in 1666. He translated Camoens' Lusiad, and wrote other poems. (Biog. Dict. ix. 96.) His embassies were published in 1701. Lady Fanshaw's Memoirs have been recently published.

‡ Lord Arlington to Temple, Dec. 7. 1665, p. 42. This was Edward, first Earl of Sandwich; of the Montagues of Boughton. Born in 1625. He served in the civil wars on the side of the parliament, and afterwards at sea, with Blake, whom he succeeded in command. He became malcontent a little before the restoration; in which he co-operated with Monk. Charles II. created him Earl in 1660: he was lieutenant-admiral under the Duke of York, and a celebrated naval commander. He perished in the flames of the Royal James, at the fight of Solebay in 1672. (Collins, iii. 449. Campbell, ii. 296.) Some of his letters from Madrid, with others from Lord Sunderland and Sir W. Godolphin, were published in 1703, under the title of Hispania Illustrata.

Temple was engaged in endeavouring, by communication with the Marquis, to facilitate the conclusion of this treaty. The negotiation was embarrassed by the part which England took in the affairs of Portugal; whose ancient alliance with England had been newly cemented by the marriage of Charles with the Infanta Catherine. England was desirous to put an end to the war between Spain and Portugal, that Spain might be induced and enabled to contend with France; but England espoused the interests of the House of Braganza, and the pacification was prevented, not so much by any difference about terms, as by the refusal of the King of Spain to acknowledge Alphonso VI.* as King of Portugal.

"On the other hand, I find it," says Temple, "agreed from France and all parts, that nothing will have good issue in Portugal without the style of king; and methinks the Spaniard's height should rather aim at giving him king without kingdom, than amuse with kingdom without king. The best swords, and guns, and treasures, will have ever the power of reviving those controversies: in the mean time, pray endeavour to make them sensible that the possession of Flanders is worth the reversion of Portugal." These suggestions were judicious: another, which Temple added, is perhaps to be referred to a sort of policy which he was apt to contemplate with too much

* Alphonso had, in 1656, being then thirteen years old, succeeded his father, John Duke of Braganza, who expelled Philip IV. of Spain, in 1640. An English force had assisted in 1663 to defend the House of Braganza against the Spaniards.

complacency, though he never practised it. "They could never," he said, "have such a conjuncture to lay by the punctilio as during their king's minority, who, when grown major, may *avow and disavow what he pleases* of his mother's regency."*

The peace between Spain and Portugal, however, and the alliance with Spain, derived their chief interest from our war with Holland. These Temple was instructed to deem the main business of his mission; and it was long before he became aware of the possibility of extricating England, by the shorter and more direct course of an agreement with the Dutch themselves, out of the difficulties of the war./ He now learnt from the Marquis, that the Dutch had already made some overtures to the English ministers, from whom they obtained only vague answers; and it was the impression of Castel-Rodrigo that they were already dissatisfied with their French allies, and not unwilling to make peace for themselves, provided that Charles would not put forward the interests of his nephew, the Prince of Orange, whose restoration would destroy the power of De Witt, the most able and influential of the statesmen of Holland.†

Temple's view of the question of peace is rather curious: — "I confess I think nothing can make a war good, or a peace ill, but its growing too necessary; and did not more dread the first when we began it, than I do now the last, unless it be

* April 1. 1666, to Mr. Godolphin (afterwards Sir William), i. 236. and Nov. 9. 1666.

† Dec. 4. 29. 1665.

in some degree victorious, which I doubt not at all our obtaining before my Lord General * shall have been three months at sea; and since his Majesty has so publicly expressed his great forwardness and inclination to peace, I believe the best way to have it is to think no more of it. †

The success of the general at sea did not altogether respond to the anticipations of Sir William Temple. Such may now be the designation of the hero of this biography, who was at this time honoured with the title of baronet. This honour was thus communicated to him by Lord Arlington, at the close of a long and plain letter of business:—

"Mr. Godolphin will tell you of the warrant his Majesty has signed for you without your leave or recommendation; and I hope your philosophy will enable you to be content to rise by these slow steps to greater honours, as your good parts, and zeal in his Majesty's service, do qualify you to deserve them." ‡

"Having this day," replies Temple, "received your Lordship's of Jan. 11., I must rejoice both with your Lordship and myself at your return to court; for though I am obliged, pleased, and in-

* George Monk, Duke of Albemarle. The naval service had not at this time acquired a separate existence.

† Jan. 19. 1666. Parts of this letter are illegible, and other parts are in cipher, and not explained. We, therefore, cannot understand the following from Lord Arlington:—"I have received yours of the 19th, and read to his Majesty, my Lord Chancellor being by, what you wrote in cipher there, which overture was not displeasing to them. But I cannot, by this post, send you his Majesty's answer to it, because we are expecting something of the same kind another way, to which you shall be called upon to give your hand, as you propose, as soon as the matter is ripe for it, your skill being imbued by us here." (Jan. 18. Arl. 56.)

‡ Arl. Jan. 11. 1666, p. 54.

formed by others' letters, yet I may freely say I live only in yours, and should think myself dead upon the ceasing of your influence, as I was before I received it. In the warrant your Lordship mentions, and Mr. Godolphin sent me a copy of, I can only say that his Majesty, I see, is pleased with his own creations, and considers humble hearts, and love and zeal in his creatures, more than higher qualities, which is a divine imitation, and makes his favour depend upon free grace, and not presuming merit. I beseech your Lordship to throw my humble acknowledgments at his Majesty's feet, with an assurance that I am passionately sensible of the honour I receive, as if I were the most ambitious person alive (which, I confess, my natural dulness hinders me being, perhaps, in a common degree), and that I can only return this truth at present, that his Majesty has not a heart and a life more at his devotion and disposal. For your Lordship's part in this I see your greatness is extraordinary, that can bear you out in these ill choices you make for honours and employments. I wish the light you give me return no ill reflections in their eyes that, perhaps, both see and envy it —

"Tu mihi quodcunque hoc famæ est, tu sceptra Jovemque Concilias," *

which is all I will say on this subject to your Lord-

* Extracted, with the substitution of *famæ* for *regni*, from Æolus's profession of gratitude and attachment to Juno. (Æneid, i. 76.) Temple might, consistently with his usual style, have included the preceding lines: —

"Tuus, o regina, quid óptes
Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est:"

Though, considering his treatment in pecuniary matters, he could hardly have continued,

"Tu das epulis accumbere divûm."

ship, because you are too much in my heart not to know the rest." *

He afterwards returned thanks to Charles himself for the baronetcy and diplomatic appointment, in a letter which may serve as a specimen of his style in addressing princes, if not of the habits of the age in the intercourse between kings and subjects.

" Brussels, March 9. 1665-6.

" SIR,

" I have thus long made use of my Lord Arlington's favour to assist and protect me in the humble offers of my devotions and acknowledgments to your sacred Majesty, knowing myself too low for any nearer approaches. I hope your Majesty will not esteem it any new growth of presumption, if I for this once change that course, but will choose rather to believe a plain truth, that my heart is too full to observe any longer those forms which become my duty, but not so great a passion as the sense of your Majesty's royal bounties has raised in it.

" I know not how your Majesty has been abused into so favourable an opinion or trust of a person so little deserving and known, or into the gracious resolutions of drawing me out of that shade and silence which were, perhaps, the fittest for me. But this I know, that, as no man is more perfectly of your Majesty's own creation, so none alive can have received deeper impressions of your Majesty's

* Brussels, Jan. 26. 1666.

bounty, nor made a more entire dedication of his heart and life to the humble and loyal endeavours of your Majesty's service.

"I know it were a public sin to lose more of your Majesty's time upon particular acknowledgments of either the employment or honour I have received, which are better than what I had reason to hope, or ambition to desire. I shall therefore leave that subject, to beg your Majesty's pardon of my presumption in sending over a picture of *Holpeyn's* *, which was esteemed by my Lord Arundel among the best of that hand in his collection. M. Ognati has undertaken to leave it at your Majesty's feet, where I lay myself with the most passionate wishes of your Majesty's health and glory, and with the most humble sincere devotions that can ever enter into the heart of,

"Sir, your Majesty's most obedient,
"and most loyal Subject and Servant,
"WM. TEMPLE."

In the spring of 1666, Temple sent for his family, who had been detained in England, apparently for Lady Temple's confinement. During his absence they had been in imminent danger.

"The plague raged," writes Lady Giffard, "with so great violence, that there died at least 10,000 in a week at London; and none of the towns round about escaped the infection. They were once persuaded to run from it into London, one dying

* We have not been able to ascertain what work of Holbein is here intended.

in a house which joined to Sir William Temple's, and a servant falling sick of it in their own; but found so dismal a scene there, so many houses being shut up with crosses on the doors as they passed into the town, the people in them crying and wringing their hands at the windows, the bells all day tolling, the streets almost empty of every thing but funerals, that were perpetually passing by; the difficulty of finding a lodging, from the fright everybody was in of receiving the infection with them, few going thither then upon any other occasion, but flying from it at home; people coming in like Job's messengers all day with one sad story before another was ended. After two days passed in this dismal place, they resolved to go home, and trust, with God Almighty's blessing, to what the force of care and cordials could do to preserve them at home; above all, the great one of resolving, whatever happened, never to leave one another; and with this, and God Almighty's blessings on the family, they recovered that servant, and continued all the rest of them in perfect health: and though I hope that nothing so dreadful will ever again befall my country, it may not be thought wholly impertinent to set down the methods which, under God Almighty, they owed their preservation to; which, I think, a great part was a cordial of Sir Walter Raleigh *, found in several receipt books,

* It is presumed that this was "the great cordial" which was administered to King James I. and to Prince Henry. It was composed of numerous ingredients, which, according to physicians, would do neither harm nor good; some of them were rather expensive, for instance, pearls and red coral. It is said, however, that subsequent

and called a sovereign remedy against the plague, which they made, and gave a spoonful or two of it round the house every morning, burnt Burgundy pitch, and made as many servants as they could, after the smoke was gone, take tobacco a great part of the day, showed some in the windows, and kept myrrh in their mouths when they came any where that they apprehended infection."

It was while Temple was on his adventurous journey to Munster, that his wife, sister, and children landed at Ostend; since the family quitted Ireland, it had been increased by a son and a daughter. The party was now re-united at Brussels; "passed one year with great pleasure and satisfaction, and had, at the end of it, another son." *

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compounders have introduced many articles which Raleigh had not hit upon. See a full catalogue in Oldys's Life of Raleigh.—Works, i. 413. and 447.

* Lady Giffard.

CHAPTER V.

WAR WITH FRANCE. — DE WITT'S POLICY. — TEMPLE WRITES HIS FIRST PAMPHLET. — PARLIAMENT OF OCTOBER, 1666. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE.

1666—1667.

Louis XIV. had now declared war against England.* Temple naturally concluded that the hopes of peace had vanished, and that the counsels of De Witt were more firmly established. He instantly recommended a declaration from Charles, that "he would hearken to no peace before the restoration of the Prince of Orange†;" a recommendation imperfectly adopted by the English government.‡ Probably the Prince's interests would

* January 26. 1666. Dumont, vi. See Flassan, iii. 341. Louis, ii. 5. and 25. D'Estrades, iii. 64. In writing to D'Estrades, Louis calls this "*un grand pas fait pour la seul intérêt des Etats, et presque en toutes choses contraire aux miens;*" but, from his own memoirs, he appears to have hesitated only between a war with England and a war with England and Spain. His declaration was designedly moderate, simply referring to the obligation imposed upon him, by the alliance of 1662, to succour the Dutch; he did not wish to have a bitter quarrel with Charles.

† Temple to Arlington, Feb. 2. William-Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was born in 1650, and was, therefore, now (Feb. 2. 1665–6) only in his sixteenth year. He had been under the guardianship of his mother, Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England; but was now under that of his grandmother, Emilia of Solms, the widow of Prince Henry Frederic. — Trevor's Life and Times of William III., p. 5–22.

‡ Arl. 58. "The former (giving support to the prince's party) is already done, at least so far as is thought fit here with relation to his intention. But we dare not tell which way to all, since we are so directed by those of that country who pretend to know best the condition of his affairs."

have been injured by an open declaration; and without doubt it would have been a hazardous step, for a monarch who was without a full command of the resources of his kingdom. Indeed, to make any matter, not absolutely essential to English interests or honour, a condition *sine qua non* of peace, is at all times unwise.

It is possible, however, that some apprehension of danger to his political interests, though the connection between Charles and the Prince of Orange, may have induced De Witt*, while he made a defensive treaty with Denmark, Brandenburg, and Lunenburg†, to keep still open the question of a separate treaty with England.

There was at the same time a joint negotiation, which was merely delusive. "M. de Lionne‡ and M. Van Beuninghen§ entertained Lord Holles‖ with propositions, such as his Majesty might fairly have expected after the loss of a battle: to these he made such replies as might have been expected.. I am glad," writes Lord Arlington, "the farce is

* May 21. 1666.

† May 18. See the treaty of Oct. 25. in Dumont, vol. vi. part iii. p. 122.

‡ Hugues de Lionne, born 1611. Formerly secretary to Mazarin, then employed at Rome and Madrid. Succeeded the Cardinal as minister for foreign affairs, in 1661.

§ Van Beuninghen was a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and had been employed at Copenhagen and Stockholm. Wicquefort ranks him among the most learned men of the day, as well as the most illustrious ambassadors. — Book ii. ch. 17. p. 421.

‖ Denzil Holles, second son of John first Earl of Clare, born about 1598. He had been an opponent of Charles I.; of the Presbyterian and moderate party. He co-operated in the Restoration, and was made a peer in 1661. Died in 1680. He has had much credit for political integrity and consistency. The unfortunate Lord Strafford married his sister. See Banks, iii. 373., and Burnet, i. 54. and 166.

at an end, and that we have a good fleet to trust to, after so much infidelity in our friends, and artificial fraud in our enemies." * Temple omitted no opportunity of encouraging a policy unfavourable to the French. "I am glad to find, by your Lordship's last, that we are at the bottom of the French artifices and amusements, which, with the bribery and debauchery of ministers, seem to be the weapons they handle best, and have most mind to deal in, as, to say the truth, they have so well succeeded as to give them much encouragement. Our English oak and hearts will never fail us, nor success neither, I am confident, if we intend nothing but victory, and reckon upon a war as well as provide for a battle." †

In another letter, after mentioning the combination of Holland with Denmark, and other northern powers, in which, notwithstanding that the apprehension of her force was really the motive of union, Sweden was invited to join, Temple says, in a spirit more congenial to the days of George III., than to those of Charles II., "If the French had any desire of coming into England, we would give them a convoy over, without which I fear they would find some difficulty in the passage; however, to suspect much, and provide for all, is the means to fear nothing; and though I can hardly imagine any of our enemies would care to touch English ground, where they all begin to think his Majesty is loved and obeyed, and the

* Lord Arlington, April 27. p. 74. † May 11. 1666.

whole people in general spirited to the pursuit of this quarrel, yet whether they may flatter themselves with hopes of success, by some such success in Scotland or Ireland, I know not, if they can steal out with a squadron of ships to transport their landmen undiscerned by our fleets." *

But now, if ever, were to be realised, and now, in truth, were grievously disappointed, Temple's hopes of gaining a peace by naval victories; and his skill was now to be tried, in a branch of diplomacy which is no longer among the functions of a representative of England. It is long since a secretary of state, speaking of a naval action, has expressed himself thus: "Neither do I take pleasure in repeating any thing of this last battle at sea†;" or that he has found his correspondent abroad "still upon the struggle, to get his tale believed of the last engagement." ‡

The action to which these passages refer was the doubtful fight of four days, between the English fleet under the Duke of Albemarle, and the Dutch fleet commanded by De Ruyter. § Temple was instructed to say, that although the Dutch ex-

* May 18.

† Arlington to Temple, June 11. 1666, p. 34. In answer to Temple's of 8th and 15th.

‡ June 28, p. 85. (in answer to Temple's of 19th).

§ June 1. 1666. The English fleet was commanded by Prince Rupert and Albemarle; but Rupert had separated before the engagement, with twenty sail, on the false information of the Duke of Beaufort's arrival in the Channel with the French Mediterranean fleet. This separation was mentioned in the impeachment of Clarendon as "the fatal counsel of dividing the fleet." (Campbell, ii. 260. Parl. Hist. iv. 379.) This is one of the sea-fights painted by William Vandevelde, the elder, who went out to sea for the purpose of attaining a correct notion of the engagement. — Bryan's Dict. of Painters, ii. 530.

ceeded us in the trophies which they bore away, the loss which we inflicted upon them by destruction and conflagration was greater than that which we suffered at their hands.

If Temple was correctly informed *, the States themselves were in doubt, whether to hail the action as a victory, seeing that their ships "did not either keep the sea, or enter into their respective havens, but all into Zealand," and that "De Ruyter desired to answer their enquiries *in private*." Brussels being a neutral place, the Dutch and English residents had the opportunity of telling each his own story. The Dutchman announced his intention of celebrating the victory by a discharge of fireworks; Temple was beforehand with him: but rejoiced "with moderation, declaring that he would leave something to be done upon an entire victory." † He ventured, however, upon the greater popularity of the English cause, to drink "to the health of the conquerors, which went round with great applause, both in the house and street." The Dutchman, after some days, made a huge and lofty bonfire, which was insulted by the townspeople, who "wondered that these fellows should make bonfires when they had been beaten." A kick given to a tar-barrel was resented by some swordsmen in the resident's house; and a general fray occurred, which ended in the destruction of the bonfire, and almost of the Dutch resident's house, which was assailed under cries of "Vive le

* June 22. 1666. † June 29.

Roi d'Angleterre! Vive l'Espagne et l'Angleterre!" — "Some thought the putting out the fire might kindle another much longer lived, considering the endeavours which the French would certainly use to blow it up." *

As Temple had no part, either in dividing or in directing the fleet, the question of victory or defeat needs not to be settled here.† But assuredly, neither this engagement, nor the less dubious success which followed it in August‡, was decisive of the objects of the war. Still the general result

* This four-day fight is celebrated by Dryden, in many stanzas of his *Annus Mirabilis*. The following is given, because in it will be found a phrase which Mr. Canning used in a speech delivered at Plymouth in October, 1823. The passage in which the orator alluded to "the stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness," exhibits much more of poetical beauty than the measured lines of the laureate. — Canning's Speeches, vi. 420.

> "The goodly London in her gallant trim,
> The Phœnix daughter of the vanish'd old,
> Like a rich bride does to the ocean swim,
> And *on her shadow rides* in floating gold."
> St. 151. Scott's Dryden, ix. 131.

† The judgment may be assisted by Temple's statement, hitherto unpublished, of a conversation with the Count de Guiche, who had himself behaved with much gallantry in the four days' fight. (D'Estrades, iv. 323.) "He gave us a very fair account of the first engagement, and did our nation so much right as to say he observed, '*moins de relâchement*' among us in the worst of our game than among the Dutch in the best of theirs. He admired our discipline and the General's carriage in the course of this battle, as well as the constancy of our men, but added, withal, that he must say, however, that we had the worst of the fight; and if the mist had not fallen, the Dutch had given us chase: upon which I asked him what the Dutch did the night after the fight. He answered directly they sailed home as fast as they could. I asked him whether they carried their lanterns: he confessed their admiral did not; what the rest did he could not tell. I asked whether ours did or no: he said, he knew not, for he went to sleep as soon as the fight was ended; but I assured him they had, and said no more." — Temple to Lord Arlington, Brussels, Aug. 31. 1666.

‡ Aug. 10., and Campbell, ii. 266.

of the naval campaign of 1666 was unquestionably favourable to the English, whom it left masters of the sea.* Had this success been followed up by a liberal parliament and an energetic king, the anticipations of Temple might have been finally justified.

It was now Temple's opinion, that in order to disembarrass Spain of her contest with Portugal, and thus to obtain her co-operation in the war, England ought to compel those two crowns to accept such terms of peace as she might deem honourable and just.† He was "sorry to see us like to be thrown upon a defensive war." — "I am apt to wish we had never had any thoughts of peace since we took up the resolution of war; for that, like all other fruit, will never keep if it be gathered too soon, and when 't is ripe 't will fall of itself."‡

He had difficulty in believing that De Witt was not the inveterate and unchangeable enemy of England, though he heard much of his anxiety at the projects, and discontent with the conduct of France; and was even "assured, from a very good hand," that De Witt suspected the French of a design to see both the Dutch and the English weakened by a long war, so as to leave the French masters of the sea: this suspicion was not ill founded. "*I am taken,*" said De Witt himself, "*for French, but am neither that, nor English, nor Spanish, but a good Hollander;* and I know very

* "La victoire des Anglois paroît en ce qu'ils sont maîtres de la mer." — D'Estrades, Aug. 12. 1666. iv. 414.

† July 2. 1666. ‡ July 8.

well that the interest of my country is to have peace with England, and *to prevent Flanders from falling into the French hands.* To this I will never consent, nor hearken to any proposition of sharing that country with France, though it is so much pressed.* For the latter (peace with England) I know not which way to think of it, since his Majesty would never yet so much as say what he aimed at. I wish that his Majesty would once think fit to be particular, how high soever in his demands. If he demands Amsterdam, let him say so; if he demands Zealand, 't is easily said. He is pleased to do me too much honour, in saying the war is against me. If that be the aim, let him demand my head; but there never yet was any war like this, which no condition will end." †

Temple retained for some time longer his opinion, that "De Witt's malice was an incurable disease‡;" and he could not see what security the Pensionary could find to his own power and interest by disturbing France to gratify us. § Yet he soon began to believe, and justly, that De Witt would not acquiesce in any further encroachment on the part of France. His avowed sentiments were those of his heart; and if it be true that, with a view to the security of his own power, he had gone too far in compliance to Louis, and even

* Yet he had proposed that Flanders should form a republic; with the exception of Cambray, St. Omer, Aire, all Artois, Berg—St. Wynox, Furnes, and Nieuport, which were to be given to France; and Ostend, Bruges, and the country extending thence to the Scheldt, which were to be added to the United Provinces. — D'Estrades, April 12. 1663, ii. 180.

† Aug. 2. 1666. ‡ Nov. 12. § April 1. 1667.

in forwarding the views of France, it is also true that the republic, as well as the minister, was necessarily dependent either upon France or upon England. Up to the present time, the policy of England, and of Charles personally, had been violently opposed to the Dutch, and the English counsels inspired no confidence. A Dutch statesman was fairly justified in adhering to France, until he should perceive something more of precision and consistency, as well as of favour to his country, in English politics.

The Dutch people went farther than De Witt: six of the provinces, and the more sober among the merchants, were desirous, as Temple learnt, of separating their interests from France, while De Witt, fearing for his own power, endeavoured to counteract them. He began, artfully, as his enemies observed, "to treat the Prince of Orange with seeming kindness, being resolved, that if he could not be the head himself, he would be the shoulders to support it." * Whether from patriotism or self-interest, no matter, De Witt was assuredly now in a position, in which skilful management on the part of England might procure his friendship. It was, perhaps, still easier to persuade the Dutch to sacrifice De Witt and his French connection together.

It was rather with this latter view that Temple was now desired to employ his literary talents. "I have promised his Majesty," wrote Lord Arlington †, "to charge you with the writing of some

* July 2d and 8th, 1666. † July 30. p. 90.

small paper, and publishing it in French, that may pleasantly and pertinently awaken the good patriots in Holland, not only to thoughts and wishes of peace, but to a reasonable application for it; assuring them his Majesty continues still to wish it, and would gladly receive any overtures for it from the States, here in his own kingdom, not expecting less from them in this kind than they did to the usurper Cromwell."* This done in form of a pretended letter, from some merchant to another at Amsterdam, or in any other form you like best, would certainly operate well in Holland, and be a work worthy of your pen, which, I know, has sufficiency for a much greater. One thing especially it will be good to mind them of, the considerable succours and advantages they have had by the conjunction with France, which has not been remarkably visible in any thing more than getting their narrations to be believed in all the courts of Christendom, and helping them to make their bonfires for their successors.† Temple put forth the pamphlet without delay: his point was "the Dutch peace without the French mediation or inclusion."‡ He found it "run with some vogue" at Antwerp, "though that must be attributed to the disposition in these parts of favouring of this strain. The chief subject is to show to the Dutch people their certain ruin and our advantage in the war, the artifices of their masters, in abusing the

* The treaty of 1654 was negotiated by ambassadors sent from Holland to London. — Lingard, xi. 151.

† July 30. 1666. Arl. 90. ‡ Aug. 24.

people with false views and impressions, the French interest, and foul play, with those touches of his Majesty's disposition to peace, as I knew to be suitable to a people whose humours I believe to be beaten rather than flattered into these counsels. If your Lordship can as well excuse it as command it, 't is more than I am to hope, but desire as my best defence that I may be unknown in it there as I am here, and that my obedience in making it short may pass for what I could not render in making it pertinent or pleasant." *

This, with Lord Arlington's assurance that it was "allowed by his Majesty to be very well written†," is all that we know of "The London Merchant's Letter to him of Amsterdam," the earliest apparently of Temple's publications. ‡

It is not known whether this letter contained any incitement to revolution. Temple was apt to take up such notions hastily and warmly; and although at the time of publishing the pamphlet he thought he saw in Holland the symptoms which preceded Charles's restoration §, and hoped that "the issue of this confusion would make" (by the restoration, it is presumed, of the Prince of Orange,) "the second step in his Majesty's greatness," yet in one month he was satisfied that he "could not reasonably reckon upon a revolution." ||

* Antwerp, Aug. 28. 1666. † Aug. 24. Arl. 93.

‡ An unsuccessful attempt has been made, with the kind assistance of M. Van de Weyer, to discover a copy of this pamphlet.

§ To Lord Lisle, i. 254. Some attempts at a secret negotiation with England were made, without his knowledge, by persons in the Prince's interest: the only result was the execution of Buat, the principal party. Of this intrigue, Temple was, apparently, ignorant, until it failed.

|| Sept. 28.

From this speculation, Temple now turned to another. He saw no great difficulty in making peace with the Dutch, who would probably be contented with a regulation of commerce upon equal terms in all parts of the world, or with no regulation at all; "the last of which," he adds, in the spirit of a policy not much to be admired, "will give us more pretence, if we have a mind upon any occasion hereafter to awe them with the fear of a new war, which, I doubt not, will, after a peace once concluded, bring them to reason much better than a continuance of this." To leave trade unshackled by international restrictions is sound advice; but when urged as keeping open an excuse for picking a quarrel, it is counsel unworthy of an honest statesman. Of the same character is his suggestion, that "we should pretend to negotiate with the Dutch and their allies, and separate them in the negotiation, by making difficulties with the French." We fear that it was with this sinister intention in his mind that he asked, whether the King desired an universal peace, or a peace with Holland only.

"For the French, I confess I think that if we can bring the house of Austria into play, never any king had a more glorious part than his Majesty will have in that war. The Emperor's temper and the King of Spain's age being so unfit for action; besides what I have heard some intelligent Frenchmen say, that the impression which the general knowledge of *his Majesty's person* has made in France would give him greater advantages, and

gain him more dependence and trust in a year among them, than seven years' success of a prince they had never seen or known. But if Spain continue to wear us out with irresolutions and delays, there is no remedy but to dissemble injuries, and reserve our resentments, till we may find a time to hurt our enemies by them less than ourselves." *

Thus, England was to seek a war with France, in which some undefined advantage might be expected, — because Charles was a finer gentleman than the Emperor Leopold †, or the little king of Spain!

Lord Arlington apparently took little notice of Temple's speculations. The letter which set forth these ingenious schemes was acknowledged as one in which he "discoursed very pertinently to the condition of our affairs at present in Holland ‡; to his more extensive plans, the minister, who never threw words away, made no allusion.

No advance had been made towards peace with Holland, and the Spanish negotiation still languished, when parliament met in October, 1666. The House of Commons began by voting their thanks to the King for his management of the war, and resolving "to supply his Majesty proportionally to his present occasions." §

* Sept. 28. 1666.

† Leopold was a pious and literary man, and though young and brave, was probably inferior to Charles in personal and worldly accomplishments. Born in 1640. Emperor 1658.—Les Dates, vii. 389. and 448.

‡ Sept. 28. Arl. 99. It was added, "wherein you shall by the next see how our thoughts agree with yours, when I will send you his Majesty's answer;" but the collection has not the promised communication.

§ Sept. 21. 1666. Com. Journ. viii. 625.

"This vote," observed the sanguine Temple *, "is a strain of the true English spirit, which ever uses to grow brave upon resistance, and obstinate upon loss; nor can I presume less from it than a glorious end of the war, having never observed any to be unfortunate that was very popular, as this, at least with France, seems to be; to whom I would fain apply next post that of Horace,—

Quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunâque dulci
Ebria. Sed minuit furorem
Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus. †

God send the last part as true as the first."

These anticipations of glory were soon dissipated; the zeal of parliament abated, or took a direction hostile to the court: the Duke of Buckingham ‡, banished from the court, exerted himself in opposition. The catholics, Irish cattle, and alleged irregularities in the public accounts, were

* Oct. 8. 1666.

† Book i. Ode 37., after the battle of Actium and the flight of Cleopatra. Thus rendered by Francis, Poetical Transl. 97. p. 218.: —

She raved of empire, nothing less,
Vast in her hopes, and giddy of success:
But hardly rescued from the flames,
One lonely ship her fury tames.

‡ George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, born 1627. The character of this man, equally celebrated for political and for private profligacy, is nowhere more faithfully delineated than in "Absalom and Achitophel," under the name of Zimri;

Who in the course of one revolving moon,
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.

He was violently opposed to Clarendon, hated Ormond, and was no friend to Arlington.—Clarendon's Life, iii. 133. Burnet, i. 171. Hume, vii. 459. Grammont. Biog. Dict. xxx. 360. Lingard, xii. 156.

the subjects of discussion, amidst which little was done for carrying on the war. Meanwhile the Dutch continued to distrust England, and would not venture upon any further negotiation, lest they should lose the friendship of France, without obtaining that of England. Secret overtures, for a separate treaty, upon the principle of mutual restoration, were, nevertheless, now made to Temple, who, notwithstanding that he approved of the terms, thought it his duty to receive them cautiously and coldly. The Dutchmen, who were persons near to De Witt, would not venture to accept his proposal of a personal conference; and the matter ended, with the King's approbation of "the return which Temple was forced to make of his own head to the overture."* The public correspondence which passed at the same time between Charles and the States exhibits the Dutch government objecting decidedly to a separate treaty, as well as to the mission of negotiators into England.† It is therefore possible that Temple's correspondents may have had less of authority than they affected. He must have been the more disappointed at the failure of the negotiation, because his sanguine temper had anticipated all sorts of assistance from the Dutch towards the rebuilding of London after the great fire, and indirectly in the war against the French, all which, he said, two persons promised themselves to carry, in spite of all the French cabals in the States.‡

* Nov. 5. and Arl. Nov. 12. and 16. pp. 106, 107.

† Charles to the States, Aug. 4. 1666. States to Charles, Sept. 17. Charles, Oct. 4. States, Nov. 25. — D'Estrades, iv. 391. 469. 515. 609.; and see Arl. 108. 110, 111.

‡ Oct. 22.

But the negotiation was now taken up by France. Ruvigni* came over to England; upon whose arrival Temple thus observes:—"I am sorry to see the Dutch throw themselves so wholly upon France in this overture, which gives that King the honour he so much aspires to, of absolute arbiter in all the differences of Flanders, and intrusts the affair in that hand whose alone interest it is to destroy it. Besides, I am assured that he has at heart so great an emulation of glory against his Majesty (to give a King's disposition no worse a name), that he has no greater bent of soul than to ruin our affairs, nor any readier way to do it than to amuse us on one hand as well as Spain on the other, at least if his offers at present can slacken us as it does them in their preparations for war." †

* Ruvigni was a French Protestant, and a first cousin of Rachel, Lady Russel. His son was domiciled in England, and created Lord Galway by William III.

† Brussels, Dec. 24. 1666.

CHAPTER VI.

CLAIMS OF LOUIS XIV. UPON THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS. — DISCUSSIONS PRECEDING THE PEACE. — TREATY OF BREDA. — TEMPLE VISITS DE WITT. — RELATIONS OF HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN. — REMOVAL OF CLARENDON. — TEMPLE'S SUGGESTIONS. — CHANGE OF POLICY.

1667.

EVENTS were now in progress, by which the politics of Europe, and the situation and sentiments of Sir William Temple, were entirely changed. Early in 1667, the designs of Louis XIV. upon Flanders*, became the subject of discussion between d'Estrades and De Witt, who did not conceal his uneasiness at the prospect of having the French king for a neighbour, and preferred the erection of Flanders into a republic, after the cession of a few towns to France. †

About the same time the English government, which had made it a point of honour, that the Dutch should send their ambassadors to London,

* Feb. 25. April 29. Maria Theresa, wife of Louis XIV., was the only surviving child of Philip IV. of Spain by his first wife, and it was through her, by what was called the Law of Devolution, borrowed from the Law of Private Tenures, that Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands, in preference to the son by a second marriage, and notwithstanding the solemn renunciations of Maria Theresa at the peace of the Pyrenees. (See Koch and Schoell, i. 331.)

† D'Estrades to Louis, Feb. 14. 1667. p. 37. Temple's information, necessarily second-hand (Feb. 25.), represented D'Estrades as asking De Witt, in the first instance, what they must expect from the States in the event of the invasion; and De Witt answering, "*Nous songerons alors à ce qui sera de nos intérêts.*" It is enough for us, that the designs of France excited De Witt's jealousy.

suddenly offered to send English ambassadors to the Hague, a determination which equally alarmed Sir William Temple and Louis XIV. Temple, who was feelingly alive to the point of honour, and set a high value upon his master's dignity, was much troubled at the King's letter, as implying that peace was necessary to England *: Louis suspected, that this change "from white to black" arose out of an artful intention to confer previously and privately with the Dutch ministers, so as to detach them from France.† He doubted "*whether the English were skilful enough to be themselves the authors of so cunning an artifice*, and rather thought that it was supported by the Baron d'Isola ‡, who was master of all sorts of tricks." Under the influence of France, the States objected §, and proposed one of three Dutch towns which they named. Notwithstanding that Charles, as Arlington informed Temple ||, would not at first even receive the letter in which this offer was made, *Breda* ¶ was finally named as the place of negotiation.

The remonstrances of Temple against these new resolutions were civilly put aside by Arlington. He acknowledges letters of the 3d and 10th of December, "both of them full of your discourse concerning the peace, which is a subject not unpleasing to us, though in appearance little practical, considering how *opiniâtre* the States' letters show them

* March 1. 1667.
† M. de Lionne, Feb. 21. and 25. 166⅞. D'Estrades, v. 52. and 66.
‡ The Austrian ambassador at the court of Brussels.
§ Feb. 24. D'Estrades, v. 63. || Feb. 22. Arl. 130.
¶ March 18. p. 109.

to be in requiring his Majesty to treat the peace in a neutral place." * To reconcile Temple to this cool reception of his suggestions, Arlington continues: "I pray let not your modesty, how becoming soever towards yourself, deprive me of the satisfaction of knowing all that occurs to you on this subject; and next this upon our negotiation at Madrid."

The minister was a little more explicit in a subsequent letter. "I have yours of the 18th to acknowledge, wherein you tell me of your surprisal at his Majesty's resolution of sending into Holland. I had long ago prepared you to be satisfied in your dislike of sending to a neutral place; especially since it was further insinuated to us, that no place in Flanders would have been judged so by the parties, who having refused likewise long ago to the Dutch sending hither, there was nothing left in our choice in doing it, either at Paris, or at the Hague. At this latter, the point of honour was best secured." †

In ignorance of the real state of things, Temple continued to entertain Arlington with his speculations. "The vulgar opinions hold all for concluded at Breda. The more speculative, upon sight of his Majesty's last letter‡, accepting the alternative, and styling the States allies, think we endanger the killing of the child with too much embracing it, and much of that nature, which I

* Dec. 10. Arl. 111.

† Feb. 15. 1666-7. Arl. 115.

‡ April. 22. 1667. "We accept the alternative that you have proposed; that is to say, that each party shall remain in the possession of every thing that has been acquired on either side in this war." — D'Estrades, v. 175.

care neither for hearing nor repeating, and answer with the incapacity all others besides ourselves are in to judge of our own business, and that I suppose we steer by lights given us by Holland, which none else sees, and time must only prove whether they are false or not. The general belief is, that no prince had ever a greater game, nor one that requires more skill to play, than his Majesty has at present in his hand. All conclude it our business to give the speediest issue we can to our peace with Holland, and strengthen it into as great confidence as we can." Nothing could be more just than this, or consistent with the policy which Temple afterwards made his own. But he proceeds with a new object:—" And in the next place, *to embark the general quarrel between France and Spain beyond hope of any sudden retreat.* To this end it is not thought our interest to fall upon any mention of these countries in the treaty of Breda, but rather to reserve our intentions of that kind for new matters of confidence, and uniting counsels with Holland, after the peace shall be concluded, and after we have taken the measures we intend with Spain on this occasion. In the mean time, while we treat upon them privately, either at Madrid or at home, it is thought it may not be imprudent *to entertain France with discourses of the great distaste we have taken at the Spaniards' late coldness* and delays towards us, and the uncertainty *that* has left us in whether to proceed in any further alliance than that of commerce, with a resolution to make the utmost advantage at least of

the present occasion, by straining our terms to the greatest height, that so by their impressions *France may not be tempted to check or use any temper in embarking the war, in hopes that our uncertainty may render us useless to Spain for the first year*, and the hardship of our terms may dispose them to patch up some untoward peace, after the losses of a campaign, rather than be imposed upon by us, whom they fear as much in the Indies as they do the French here." Here it is, in the first place, assumed as desirable that France and Spain should be at war; then we, though really more disposed to Spain, are to insinuate to France that we are out of humour; we are thus to make France believe that we shall not assist Spain, at least in the first campaign which France is to make upon her; and that Spain will be driven into a disadvantageous peace. But, as it would appear, we *are* to assist Spain, after having cajoled France into attacking her, in ignorance of our being in reserve to help her. This is indeed a most roundabout and equivocal way of serving our friend; yet such was, no doubt, the object of the scheme, for "all these discourses are grounded upon our interest and resolution being fixed to fall into measures with Spain in this conjuncture, and not to admit of any with France, whilst their increase of greatness is so formidable, and their observance of faith so uncertain, or rather so unthought-of." Had Louis seen this letter, he would have suppressed his remark upon the habitual simplicity of English diplomacy. It is not easy to determine how much of Temple's

speculations are of his own creation or adoption; how much he merely repeats after his political gossips. That he gave in to the ingenious device just mentioned, is probable, as well from its conformity with other of his projects, as from his disclaimer of another scheme, which follows. "Yet I have been asked within these two days, and I imagine not without design, whether it were not possible for us *to find our account with France, Portugal, and Sweden, in the share of what should be gained from the House of Austria and from Holland.* All my answer was, that it was a proposition I saw no light in, and had never thought on myself, and did not know that his Majesty or his chief ministers ever had."*

Three days later, the speculation took a different aspect.

"The Marquis shewed me last night a letter from the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague, wherein he gave him an account of a visit newly made him by De Witt upon that occasion, to give him notice of their danger here upon the very first of the season, and to propose the ways of defending themselves: the first, by falling into a treaty with the French, and sacrificing some parts of Brabant, for gaining time to secure the rest; and the second, by endeavouring to induce his Majesty to fall into a league with the Empire and Holland and these countries, for their common defence and preserving the peace of Munster. The Marquis shewed me his reply, wherein he expressed his resolution to

* May 3. 1667.

apply himself wholly to the latter, as seeing no safety in the other, which could at best only help them *de mourir à petit face.*"

After stating that the Marquis pressed for assistance from Charles, "which would make Spain his own, I am grown," he says, "of late so ignorant of what passes in England, that I cannot guess what thoughts this conjuncture may there produce, nor how far they are to be biassed by the train of our affairs at home." . . . . "In general it is agreed that our business is, to embark the affair beyond retreat, and if our estate at home will suffer us to look before us and abroad, then to support these countries from being an easy prey, at least make ourselves necessary to the Spaniards, and so far feared by the French, that we may either save one, *or in some sort share with the other.* If we resolve to fall in directly with Spain, not to heighten our terms upon this necessity, but to give them few days to resolve in, and tell them plainly, if they like them not, we shall endeavour *to find our account with the French, and that way come to suffer at least so much later from their greatness.* If we have these dispositions, it is believed Holland will easily join us in them."*

Diplomacy is deemed a science of much formality, and diplomatists men of great precision, whose imaginations are put under restraint, and their words carefully measured; but really the eminent negotiator now before us was wont to put

* May 6. 1667.

into his despatches every thing that came into his head at the moment, without regard to its consistency, either with what he may have said but a short time previously, or with his own settled purposes and opinions. This remark is provoked by the variety of Temple's successive speculations, and, now more especially, by the hint of an accommodation with France, which is to ward off, perhaps only for a time, the injuries which she is otherwise to inflict upon England. Temple, perhaps, exaggerated the strength of his country, when he expected her fleets to give law to Europe; but his error is much greater on the other side, when he contemplates her obtaining, by a compromise with France, the privilege of being devoured last.

In his next communication, which nevertheless contains much that is remarkable, all trace of this strange notion disappears.

In this letter, after noticing the tardy progress of the French arms, Temple thus proceeds:— "From these circumstances the reasoners here conclude a weakness and incertitude in the French counsels, and begin to hope they may have taken their measures as ill among their neighbours as they have among themselves; and say confidently, that, *unless they are agreed with England*, their affairs are in a worse posture now than they were twenty years ago. They begin to hope, *that all our late practices with the French are aimed no farther than to embark them in this affair, and have our revenge for the game they played us in engaging us in the Dutch war.* They say," (here we recognise the

scheme lately noticed,) "that if by offers and *shews of abandoning Spain, we have drawn the French into this war*, which has already cost them all their confidence with Holland, all farther hopes of amusing Spain, and the credit of their good faith and meaning with the rest of Christendom; that if, after our peace made with Holland and France, we resolve *to offer our mediation between France and Spain*, and upon the refusal or failing of it, join with the Hollander in the protection of these countries, enter vigorously into the war, *share with the Spaniard whatever shall be gained from the French*, and let Holland find their account by destroying all the French designs of trade and plantations abroad; the reasoners here conclude that if this has been our design for these two months past, and be pursued with the same success it has begun, it is one of the greatest counsels that has ever been conceived by any prince, and which will make the greatest change in our own affairs, and in those of all Christendom besides, and appear the best adjusted revenge upon the French that ever was taken upon an enemy.*

"I enclose," he says to the Ambassador Coventry, "the copies of the French King's last letters to the States General†, and at the same time to the Queen Regent of Spain‡, declaring his

* To Lord Arlington, May 27. 1667. — Temple, i. 272.

† May 9. D'Estrades, v. 220. Ralph, i. 154.

‡ P. 216. The letter which Temple criticises is not fairly open to his objections; the fault is in the transaction itself. Louis asserts his claim, rebukes the Queen for refusing to admit it, and declares his intention of enforcing it. There is, also, in D'Estrades (210.), an in-

intention to invade these countries; which last, methinks, is drawn with so ill colours, and so ill a grace, that, if his captains do no better than his secretaries upon this occasion, the success of his enterprise will prove no better than the justice of it here appears."*

To Lord Holles, the other ambassador at Breda, Temple opened a new view of French policy. "The general belief here of the most intelligent is, that France has had the skill or good luck *de nous endormir*, both us and Holland, in this great conjuncture, and by assuring us of peace upon good terms with the Dutch, and at the same time the Dutch of never according with us, nor treating with Spain, to their (the Hollanders') prejudice, will amuse us both in a slow treaty, till they have made so great an impression in these countries, as will give neither of us the liberty to take those measures in this affair to which either of our interests might lead us, and perhaps find means to divert the treaty at last from coming to any issue. They say that delaying our treaty for the sake of Poleron† is *losing a dinner for mustard*, and that every day it is deferred, endangers an irrevocable

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struction to that minister, and his colleague, Courtin, in which it is assumed that the States are bound, by the treaty of 1662, to assist Louis in enforcing his rights on the Netherlands; nevertheless, not to put them to inconvenience, he will be content with neutrality, and would even consent to a compromise with Spain upon moderate terms. We have not Louis's manifesto. There is an abstract in Turenne, ii. 143.

* May 21. p. 296.

† An island in the East Indian seas, concerning which there had been, for some time, a dispute between the English and the Dutch.

conjuncture, that heaven has given us, of making ourselves considerable, to whom, which way, and to what degree, we please."*

Of the finer speculations of Temple, Arlington took no notice; but he thus answered to the suggestion of active assistance to Spain: — "In your letter† you say, the Marquis will write to his Majesty, and ask his assistance. If he do it upon the point of generosity, the council here will easily remember his Majesty how unconcernedly Spain has looked upon this long and chargeable war, out of which he is not yet delivered; if upon interest, any resolution that is later here must be founded upon treaties and stipulations that will require some time to finish."‡ In his next communication, Arlington dropped these excuses, and came a little nearer to the truth: — "I fear his Majesty will not be easily persuaded to do any thing of considerable advantage to those countries, or so much as promise it, till he see the utmost of the treaty at Breda. Neither, indeed, is it reasonable to press him to it, not only for the difficulties he will have to answer well therein, but *also for the alarm France will take from it, with whom common prudence obliges us to keep fair in this conjuncture,* since they shew themselves more easy towards the treaty than the Dutch, and are, besides, the buckler of the war, from which he would at any time have

* May 29. 1667. p. 274.

† The letters here acknowledged are described as those of the 5th and 10th: we have no such dates.

‡ May 10. Arl. 163.

been glad to be delivered. We ought especially now to desire to be at ease for some time, while our neighbours are falling out. It is pity that no morality or Christianity can raze this out of human nature. I think I told you nothing but a powerful body of men out of Germany can save those countries."*

In his letter to Arlington†, Temple had alluded to "our late practices with the French," and he certainly now began to suspect that something had passed, of which he was ignorant. He communicated his suspicions to his ministerial correspondent with perfect freedom, and without any of that querulousness or discontent, which he had exhibited on other occasions. "The general vogue," he said, "both in England, France, and Holland, persuaded me we had absolutely taken our measures with France, and this belief was favoured by some passages in your Lordship's letters, which seemed as much towards it as might be thought fit to let me know of that matter here." He hinted his suspicion that England and France had, through fear of each other, adjusted their mutual differences, whereby France would find her account upon Spain, and Holland upon England, and both England and Spain amused from taking any joint measures. This suspicion was strengthened by an old rooted opinion that De Witt can never find his own personal interest with us so well as with France, for fear of the Prince of Orange, and from remem-

* May 17. Arl. 164. † P. 105.

brance of the personal injuries and indignities we have received from him and the old—*humanum est odisse quem læseris.**

Temple now, perhaps in the hope of developing some of the mysteries which surrounded the negotiation, solicited leave to go to Breda. This was readily granted, with a caution "not to do or say anything but as the ambassadors should direct him."†

When there, he soon fell into conversation with the French ambassadors, who threw out some hints towards the mediation of England between France and Spain. In the remarks which this hint drew from Temple, will be found the germs of the most important transaction of his diplomatic life. "Though I took all that talk for artifice, yet the thing may be certainly worth his Majesty's thoughts, *whether we design to advance that accommodement, or to hinder it;* for, besides the glory of that part, and the consideration princes gain by seeming arbiters of their neighbours' differences; if we can, after a peace concluded with Holland, fall in with them into a joint offer of our mediation in the present quarrel, *it may prove an entrance into the renewing of confidence between us* (which I observed to be so much lost), and by a commerce between us upon a point wherein we both agree, *may lead us in time to a persuasion that our*

* June 21. 1667. On the 24th he acknowledges a letter from Arlington (not to be found), "which did not put him out of pain to know what he was to think of our peace with France."

† Arl. July 7. p. 168.

interests in general are so too, and by the same degrees will loosen them from France, which is a business the peace will still leave upon our hands to endeavour. Besides, the end of it seems the great interest of Christendom at present, which is, either by an accord or an opposition, to give some stop to the French power and ambition, which cannot otherwise fail of going uncontrolled, considering their great present force, but now, a strength of genius and spirit that seems to be at present in their government or ministry, by a strange constant order and application in the general conduct of their business, which I cannot but observe in the letters of their ministers, often intercepted or purchased by the Marquis, especially a packet of M. Tellier's to M. Lionne, which his Excellency shewed me at Antwerp last night, wherein it appeared that not a corner hardly of Christendom, from Italy and Portugal to Poland, had not that week passed through their thoughts and shared in their resolutions."*

"It is a very good hint you give us," said Lord Arlington in reply, "in making ourselves mediators of an engagement between France and Spain, and may be of much advantage to his Majesty in its season; but on the side of France we must have better encouragement for their acceptance of it, than the French Ambassador's discourse at Breda."†

In July, 1667, peace was concluded at Breda,

* July 15. 1667. † July 12. Arl. 177.

between England and France, Holland and Denmark, respectively.* We have no observations from Temple upon the terms of these treaties; they were assuredly such as he had reason to approve.† But, in truth, he knew nothing of the circumstances under which they were negotiated. He knew not that, while he was entertaining the English government with his speculations upon forms and terms, and urging them to a speedy peace with Holland, in order that they might be free to resist the ambition of France, they had not only conducted a negotiation with France, in which the interests of Holland had been represented by that power; still less was he aware that Charles had bound himself by a written promise, on the word of a King, that he had not entered, and would not, for the space of a year to come, enter into any treaty, or make any new tie with any prince or potentate *that may be contrary, or in which he would be engaged against* the interest of France.‡

* Dumont, vii. part i. p. 40. 53.

† By the treaty with Holland it was stipulated that both parties should forget past injuries, and remain *in statu quo:* this confirmed to the Dutch the possession of the disputed Island of Poleron, and to the English that of Albany and New York. To France, Nova Scotia was restored; and to England, Antigua, Montserrat, and part of St. Kitt's, As to Denmark, who had merely come into the war as an ally of the Dutch, there was nothing but a renewal of amity. The treaties were signed, on the part of England, by Lord Holles and Henry Coventry. (Lingard, xii. 172.)

‡ Arl. 139. There is no date to the letter from Charles to his mother in which this promise is given; but it arose out of a suggestion from M. de Lionne, reported in a letter from Lord St. Albans to Lord Arlington, Feb. 16. 1667. The suggestion was of a mutual undertaking; we have not that which Louis gave; but, in fact, his part consisted in a promise to restore the West India Islands taken from the English.—See Louis ii. 256. 286. The private discussions were commenced in London by Ruvigni, in the autumn of 1666.

This engagement, in effect and intention, secured Louis against Charles's opposition, in conjunction with Holland, to the seizure of Flanders; and thus overturned all that was politic and practical in the speculations of Temple.

Louis and Turenne now took town after town*, with little resistance, and Brussels itself was threatened; so that Temple found it necessary to send his wife and young children to England, and ask what he should do for his personal safety in case of a siege. The English government would not listen to his suggestion for returning home, and told him to stick close to the Marquis.†

Both branches of the House of Austria pressed for the assistance of four or five thousand English troops. Reasons more plausible than true were given for declining to afford assistance. "If the thing were easily to be obtained, I cannot see how it would well take effect this year; and I have told them (the Ambassadors in England) plainly, I fear much their success in the prosecution of it; because that we are delivered from the war, it will be fit that we have some breathing time, to compose the minds of men that are very much disquieted with reflections upon the government, before the kingdom be embarked in any new war. And if France and Holland remain as united during the peace as they were during the treaty of it, we are not secure that they may not, taking advantage of

* Charleroy, Berg—St. Wynox, Douay, Courtray, Oudenarde, Lille, &c. all fell in the summer of 1667. (Flassan, iii. 351.)

† Arl., July 29. and Aug. 2. pp. 178, 179.

our distempers at home, break out again upon us. The Baron d'Isola says this is a vain apprehension, and that Holland is already disposed to succour them, even at the peril of breaking with France. If they be so, being nearer concerned than we are, they ought to begin first, and leave us the fair time which ought to belong to us, in taking so important a business in hand, and so hazardous in the success of it."*

Had these been the true and only reasons which deterred the English government from sending troops to Flanders, they would have rested upon a sound policy. Without the cordial co-operation of the people more immediately concerned, the enterprise would have probably failed; but a prudent and strong government would have ascertained at an earlier period the dispositions of that people.

The English ministers, though they did not avow the engagement towards France, which forbad the required union with the Dutch, avowed their inability to act upon the higher considerations of policy. "*It is a vain thing, in the condition we are, to attempt the moving us by considerations of generosity and honour; in prosperous times they have much weight.* And the truth is, they are improperly alleged to us by neighbours that sat securely looking upon us whilst we held a war with three great potentates."†

While his employers were thus inclining more and more to French policy, Temple himself began

* Arl., Aug. 2. p. 179. † Ib. The third power was Denmark.

now to be less distrustful of De Witt, or to expect that his own love of power might drive him into war; while Castel Rodrigo deemed him "now more of a Spaniard than ever he had been thought a Frenchman;"* an expression which may recall the words of De Witt himself†, and satisfy us that he was "a good Dutchman." In that character he procured instructions for the ambassadors about to go into England, to engage Charles in a league for the defence of the Low Countries.

Temple had soon an opportunity of forming his own judgment of De Witt. His sister, Lady Giffard, who had remained with him when he sent away his wife and family, took a strong fancy to a journey into Holland. He solicited ‡ and obtained permission to visit Amsterdam and the Hague. As we know but little of Temple as a traveller, we subjoin his brief account of this little journey, which commenced at the end of September, 1667. "We went *incognito*, with only my sister's woman, a valet de chambre, and a page out of livery, who all spoke Dutch. I leave it to her to give you an account of what entertainments she met with there, which she was much pleased with, especially those of the Indian houses; for me, who had seen enough of it in my younger travels, I found nothing new but the Stadthouse at Amsterdam, which, though a great fabric, yet answered not the expectations I had, for so much time and so vast expense as had been employed to raise it, which put me in mind of

* Sept. 23. 1667. † See p. 88. ‡ Aug. 23.

what the Cavaliero Bernini said of the Louvre, when he was sent for to take a view of it, that it was *una granpiccola cosa.* The chief pleasure I had in my journey was, to observe the strange freedom that all men took, in boats, and inns, and all other common places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the public affairs, both of their own state and their neighbours; and thus I had the advantage of finding the more by being *incognito,* and think it the greatest piece of the liberty that country so much values; the government being otherwise as severe, and the taxes as hard, as among any of their neighbours."*

From Amsterdam the travellers went to the Hague, where Temple commenced his intimacy with De Witt †, which endured for their joint lives. The very commencement of this acquaintance was characteristic. Temple, though the stranger, paid the pensionary the first visit. "I told him," he says, "who I was, but that having passed unknown through the country to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. My only business was to see the things most considerable in the country, and I thought I should lose my credit if I left it without seeing *him.* He took my compliment very well, and returned it by saying he had received a character of me to my advantage, both from Munster and Brussels, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a time when both our nations

* To Sir John Temple, Oct. 10. 1667. i. 286.

† John De Witt, pensionary of Holland, was three years older than Temple, having been born in 1625. — Biog. Dict, xii. 31.

were grown friends, and we had equal reason to look about us upon what had lately happened in Flanders."*

The pensionary entered at once into confidential communication with his new acquaintance. He spoke with frankness of the late war, which he attributed principally to Sir George Downing†, the late resident, who exasperated into a national quarrel, disputes that might have been settled as between private persons. Acts of violence were committed on both sides; De Witt himself felt the honour of his country engaged against concession, and the English House of Commons was equally excited. To all this, which is quite true, it might have been added that neither Charles nor De Witt had forgotten the secret article introduced by the latter into the treaty of 1654‡, whereby the House of Orange was excluded from the government.

Temple, who dealt in speculation rather than retrospection, contented himself with rejoicing that the war was over.§ He justly ascribed more importance to the observations of the Dutch statesman upon the crisis of Flanders: his report of the conference is now for the first time published.

* Letter to his brother, Sir John Temple, Brussels, Oct. 10. 1667. i. 286.

† There was a strong dislike between Downing and Temple; the one hated the Dutch, the other warmly exposed their cause. Downing is said to have been a man of unamiable manners.

‡ Dumont, vi., part ii. p. 79.; and see Campbell's De Witt, xlii.

§ Letter to his brother, i. 286.

Dort, Oct. 5. 1667.

"My Lord,

"Since my last from Amsterdam, I met with one from your lordship at the Hague, of Sept. 13., with the news of the Spanish Treaty being ratified and returned*, and what I was more pleased with, the presages of His Majesty's satisfaction, in the next Session of Parliament, which I think alone can establish our ease at home and credit abroad. I was disappointed to find at my arrival at the Hague that the Prince was not there, being gone to hunt for some days in the province of Groningen. I stayed there only one day, and unknown, because I would not go beyond the time I had proposed for my journey, and to that purpose made only a visit to Monsieur De Witt, which the marquis had advised me, to avoid any umbrage he might take at my journey. He was very civil, and seemed very open. He fell of himself into the discourse of business, which fixed chiefly upon the general joy in Holland, particularly his own, at the late peace; expressing great confidence that all enmity would be forgotten as soon as the noise of the war was over. He grounded it from the long mutual kindness between the nations, the similitude of manners and religion, but chiefly from our common interest; concluding the mention of several ties with *hunc ipsa pericula jungunt.* From this occasion he fell into discourse of the business of Flanders, and would fain have drawn some lights

* A treaty for the continuation and renewal of peace had been signed by Lord Sandwich at Madrid, on the 23rd of May; and was ratified on the 21st of September, 1667.—Dumont, vii. part i. p. 27.

from me of His Majesty's disposition in that particular; but I said very plainly I could give him none, and that perhaps his Majesty might take his measures by the dispositions of his parliament; and not enter into an affair wherein he was not sure his people's hearts and purses would be engaged. Monsieur De Witt said he believed so, and for that reason they would take care their ambassador should be in England as soon as was possible, who should be very amply instructed *to induce His Majesty* all that was in their power, *to enter into a common league for preserving the repose of Christendom, and securing one common safety in that of Flanders*, which he said we were both as much concerned to preserve as the King of Spain himself; for it served him only for a bulwark to the rest, and was the same to us. He concluded that nothing could be more just or more honourable, that it was probable our appearing jointly in it might bring the French King to reason without blows. If not, he doubted not *que nous sortirions glorieusement de l'affaire.* I reasoned upon their interests being more and nearer in it than ours, to which he replied, they were sensible enough of their interest in it, and would use all means possible to end it the just and the honourable way; but if neither we nor the emperor would appear in it, he doubted not of what terms they should ask of France, and would content themselves to make their state as safe as they could at present, and trust to time for the rest. He said, as their interest was more in the safety of Flanders, so their danger

was greater in a war with France; that we might enter into it and look on, or take what share we pleased; but that they were sure to have a French army upon their hands in Brabant, and perhaps a Bishop of Munster again at their backs. He complained a good deal of the marquis's ill will to them in the late Munster business, of his ill conduct in this of Flanders, and of the Spanish counsels in general, and concluded all that was to be forgotten, not for the Spaniards' sakes, but for their own; that there was time enough yet to prevent the mischief, and begged I would so represent the state of these countries unto England, that those might not be lost. After above two hours' discourse in private on these subjects, I left him, and *judge him either to be a plain steady man, or very artificial in seeming so,* more properly, *homme de bon sens* than *homme d'esprit,* pointing still to that which is solid in business, and not to be imposed upon easily. These I take to be his talents, so that *whoever deals with him must go the same plain way that he pretends to in his negotiations, without refining or colouring, or offering shadow for substance,* which he complains of much in the marquis, and perhaps with reason.

"I am confident he is hearty in the point of defending Flanders, which he calls in his discourse *le bon parti;* and I hear from other hands that Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, have resolved it, and endeavour to bring the other provinces to the same opinion; and that De Ruyter has positive orders to convoy the Spanish plate

fleet, wherein their merchants are so deeply concerned. But these intentions, I suppose, they will cover as much as they can, till they see how far they can engage His Majesty in them, which will be the chief business of their ambassage. I hope my next will be from Brussels, but am sure all will end in the sincere professions of the truth and devotion wherewith I shall be ever,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful,
"and most humble servant,
"WM. TEMPLE."*

There is no reason to distrust De Witt's sincerity in all that he said to Temple as to his present views. It is clear that even before the invasion of Flanders, he had begun to get tired of France, and that event excited his utmost jealousy. He was unwilling that the Spaniards should be replaced by the French in the Low Countries; and although he had at one time consented to give them some towns in Flanders, yet when Louis made a specific proposal for a compromise with Spain, he would not consent that Louis should take to himself the whole that he demanded, still less that he should maintain his claim to the eventual succession to the whole on the death of the King of Spain.† This was at the time of the treaty of Breda; but about that of Temple's visit, the watchful D'Estrades perceived a change in the views of the States General, and the conversation of De Witt began to exhibit an

* State paper Office.
† D'Estrades, July 21. 1667. (v. 444.) Considerations sur Louis XIV. (Louis, i. 127. and ii. 161.)

increased jealousy of the ambition of Louis*, and a disposition to restrain it by new alliances. Louis modified his terms according to De Witt's suggestion, with an *alternative* offer, to retain, in lieu of the places demanded, those which he had already conquered; but he remarked with haughty displeasure the growing coldness of his former partisan†, and became jealous of his communications with the English government.

By that government, De Witt's advances were coldly received. "I was glad to read," writes Lord Arlington, "that you had seen and spoken with M. De Witt, though he kept himself sufficiently at arm's length with you. They must speak closer to us before they will be able to engage us in a quarrel that does not only concern them much more than us; but, for aught I can see, more than Spain herself. And this is the truth that, next to our unwillingness to engage into new wars, would make us hearken slowly to these overtures. And I remember, I told you early, that *generosity and the keeping the balance even between the two crowns, would be points that might by witty men be talked of out of doors;* but, for aught I can see, neither the Spanish Ambassador nor the Baron d'Isola furnish any better yet. I am afraid they depend too much upon *the humour that reigns here, which wishes Flanders were succoured as the bulwark of England*, and so care not to provide

* D'Estrades, Sept. 17. vi. 38.
† Oct. 14. vi. 73.; and M. de Lionne's letter of Oct. 28. p. 96.

themselves with more interior and essential convincements."* But although averse to co-operation with the Dutch in an affair in which both nations were concerned, or restrained from it by his engagement with Louis, Charles had already offered his single mediation to Spain and to France†, while Louis, who had only deprecated a joint interference‡, readily acquiesced, the concurrence of the Spanish regency was more doubtful.

The mediation was the more urgently offered by England, as the Dutch made a similar proposal. "The King had begun with one fair step; he had sent to Lord Sandwich to offer his mediation, and in France they had already accepted of it. We hear the Hollanders are busy in this work already; but we shall take it unfriendly of either of them, if they prefer that hand in a work of so much reputation, which you shall do well to let the marquis know; and I am persuaded the best office we can do that crown is, to let their ministers know the worst of our minds."§

Meanwhile the propositions of De Witt became less and less favourable to France; his offer of co-operation by force of arms was withdrawn, and his projects gradually assumed more and more of the character of an equal mediation between the two crowns.‖ But while he expressed strongly

* Arl., Oct. 4. p. 182.
† Arl., Oct. 6. p. 185.; and to Lord Sandwich, Oct. 17. ii. 262.
‡ De Lionne, Sept. 9. 1667. vi. 35. § Arl. 186.
‖ D'Estrades, Oct. 20.; and De Witt's new project, vi. 80. and 87. In this project a sort of apology was made to Louis, for that it seemed to affect Spain and France indifferently; without this apparent equality, it was said, the German princes would not be brought in.

his apprehensions of the French power in the Low Countries, he continued to profess an attachment to Louis, and an anxiety to moderate the growing discontent of some of his colleagues, and of other states of the Union.

England and France were equally jealous of the Dutch. Thus writes Lord Arlington on the 4th of November: — "The letters from Holland assure us that peace will be made, and that the Hollanders shall have the honour of it, as well as the security from the engagement in a new war. Methinks you might learn then how far the marquis is engaged towards the gratifying Holland in this point, wherein we suppose France will not only have secured to them their conquests, or an equivalent, but continue in possession of the right of the Queen of Spain's negotiations made invalid by the reason they have promised. And it is not unreasonable in you to suppose that we in England will be content the quarrel should be set on foot, till we might either have the honour of accommodating, *or see how we can make the advantages by the continuance of the war.*" *

M. de Lionne at the same time addressed the French Ambassador at the Hague. After expressing his apprehensions of the altered policy of the States, and their inclination towards an alliance with England, whereby, he said, they had "changed all the cards," he consoled his correspondent in these remarkable words, "I cannot conclude without telling you, for your private satisfaction, that

* Arl. 188, Nov. 4.

if, after the King has put into the hands of the States the contents of the peace, upon the conditions which M. de Witt has himself proposed, provided that they speak thereon as they ought to the Spaniards, the said States, instead of that, go out of their way, and make connections contrary to the interest of his majesty, *we shall not troth ourselves here so much as would be supposed. I know what I say, and on what ground I say it;* those who would do injury to us, may do more to themselves, and perhaps will the more advance by it the interests of his majesty. *Therefore live in gaiety, whatever you see happen.**

De Lionne may have alluded in this mysterious passage, either to the secret negotiations with Charles†, or to a scheme now in progress for securing the reversion of a great part of Flanders. Confident as Louis justly was in the bravery of his troops and the skill of Marshal Turenne, he did not contemplate with indifference the union against him, of the Emperor and Empire, Spain, Sweden, England, and the Dutch. He had at first little apprehension of a cordial union between the English and the Dutch‡; he therefore anxiously promoted the peace between them, in order that England might be separated from Spain, with whom her war with Holland naturally connected her. But he

* M. de Lionne to M. d'Estrades, Nov. 4. 1667.—D'Estrades, vi. 101.

† The stipulation negotiated through the Duchess of Orleans has already been mentioned. Overtures towards a close alliance with France were also made by Charles through Ruvigni, the French Ambassador, both before and immediately after the peace of Breda.—Ruvigni's Memorial, in Dalrymple, i. 71.

‡ See Turenne's opinion, iv. 338.

had now begun to apprehend a reconciliation between Charles and the States, and feared too that his occupation of Flanders might bring upon him the enmity of the princes of Germany. He therefore endeavoured to secure by negotiation the future possession of the countries which, though he could now easily conquer, he could not securely retain. In October or November 1667, commenced the secret discussions with the emperor, by which Louis obtained the assent of Leopold not only to his proposed compromise with Spain, but also to an "eventual treaty" for the partition of the Spanish monarchy. However it may have been doubted, it now appears certain that a treaty was concluded on the 19th of January 1668, of which the principal provisions were, that in the event of the King of Spain's death, Louis should come into possession, not only of the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté, but of Navarre, Naples, and the Philippines, while the Emperor should have Spain, and the rest of that extensive monarchy.*

These negotiations, and an unwillingness to occasion an irreconcileable enmity in the States, probably occasioned the want of energy which Temple observed in the conduct of the campaign. "Considering what they have done, and what they might have done, it seems to have been too much for friends, and too little for enemies; upon the whole, never any campaign was, perhaps, worse managed on both sides, through default of order here, and of resolution among the French." †

* Œuvres de Louis, i. 134. and vi. 402. † Oct. 7.

Still unacquainted with the underhand proceedings of his master, the sanguine resident at Brussels continued to speculate upon what Charles might effect by a public declaration of his will. "All agree that the whole success of this affair wherein the two crowns are embarked, will depend in a manner wholly upon the resolutions his majesty shall take, which cannot fail of giving the law. I suppose a league of guaranty, offensive and defensive, will be pressed hard by Holland in this embassage*; that France and Spain will vie to the utmost in their offers for our friendship, and will only hope that we shall avoid the reproach I have heard so often, and I think so reasonably, made against *our last great minister*, that when he had the offer of what alliance, where he pleased, and upon what terms, upon his majesty's return in seven years, he made none; and *to be neutral in the quarrels of neighbours is a counsel which, an esteemed wise man, I remember, says, no wise prince ever took*.†

We know not who the wise man was, upon whose *dictum* Clarendon is condemned for not making Continental alliances, or meddling in his neighbours' quarrels. Wiser men might perhaps be quoted for opinions diametrically opposite.

It was in the midst of the discussions concerning Flanders, that Clarendon was removed.‡ Temple's observations upon this event have not until now been published.

* M. Meerman had been sent over to England soon after the treaty of Breda.

† Oct. 11. ‡ Aug. 30. 1667.

"For one word in the discourses of this court and people that is spoken of the French, there are a hundred of my Lord Chancellor, and *they seem to be more pleased with it than they would be with a victory.* The reasoners here are very large upon that subject, and pretend to rejoice at what is arrived, not only for their own sakes, but for his majesty's, whom they profess, on all occasions, to adore. They presage great friendship from it between our two crowns, *believing his lordship not only their enemy, but a dependant on France,* and repeat what I must needs say the Marquis and Count Marsyn has long since told me, that whatever we might treat, the ministers at present in Spain, would never enter into any confidence with us, while his lordship's influence upon our affairs continued, having both given and received too many injuries.* *In what concerns His Majesty they say he has freed himself from a minister who was a great occasion of the people's discontent, and who had personal interests distinct from those of His Majesty and the kingdom,* which is fatal in a minister, who ought to think of nothing but his master's business, and leave it wholly to his master to think of his.

"As to the causes and consequences of this resolution in His Majesty, the reasoners here are divided,

* France took a corresponding view of the effect of Clarendon's removal. D'Estrades told De Witt that the news of it had been sent by a special messenger by Castel Rodrigo to the Hague; that it was thought to be the work of Molina and D'Isola; and that it would be followed by measures on the part of England, against the interests of France. Sept. 17. vi. 38.

some derive it from the prevailing strength of a faction at court, and believe the storm will blow over, which they say will be worse than if it had not begun, by weakening abroad the credit and opinion of any steadiness in his Majesty's resolutions, and lessening at home the fear of his displeasure. And upon this subject they say, the disgraces at court of my Lord Bristowe* and the Duke of Buckingham †, were very unhappy; that if what they had done would not bear a pursuit, they should not have been touched; that if it would, it should not have been let fall; and that the anger of a king should be like thunder, which never happens but when there is a gathering of ill vapours in some part of the air; but when it does, it should be irresistible, to the ruin of those it strikes, and the terror of all that hear it.

"Others say his Majesty has done this, only to withdraw his lordship from the envy and pursuit of the people upon the next meeting of parliament, and that upon such an occasion the best way for a king to save a minister is to seem to abandon and expose him; but they think, that will never bring matters into the right temper, and that such a

* George Digby, second Earl of Bristol of that name. Born 1612. He had, in 1663, accused Clarendon before Charles, and exhibited against him, in the House of Lords, articles, which the Judges reported to be incapable of sustaining his charge of high treason. Charles issued a warrant to apprehend him, and he absconded. (Collins, v. 365. Clarendon, ii. 259. Biog. Dict. vii. 79.)

† He had been banished from the Court in 1666, and led an opposition in the session of 1667. (See p. 95.) In Feb. 1667, his violence induced Charles to remove him from the Privy Council, and his offices, and to issue a proclamation for apprehending him. (See Ralph, i. 147.) After Clarendon's disgrace he was restored.

body as a parliament cannot easily be amused; and to keep them in health must be fed with things that are wholesome, and have substance in them.

"Others there are who believe it to have proceeded from a resolution in his Majesty to satisfy his parliament, or at least give them liberty to say what they have at heart, and prove upon trial whether it be well grounded or no; and in consequence thereof to pursue what he finds the common genius of his people leads to, and what his parliament judge to be the common interest of his kingdom; and this they are pleased with here, imagining nothing else can make his Majesty considered and give law abroad. They say the method is easy and without danger, at a time when a general peace renders not the parliament necessary to his Majesty. That seeming to call this session only to give them the knowledge both of the reasons and conditions of the late peace, to acknowledge their affection in the great supplies of the war, to desire their assistance in the discovery of what miscarriages any officers may have been guilty of in the management of his treasures, and ask their advice how far to engage in the present quarrels of his neighbours abroad:—that, in short, seeming to use them as his council, and for a check upon any officers that have served him ill, without showing any design upon their purses, will make his Majesty master of them and their hearts too upon all occasions: and by satisfying the body of them, will take away all hopes or designs of particular men among them, to make themselves considerable by any peevish op-

positions. They say that, if his Majesty falls into these resolutions, unasked or at least unpursued by the parliament, and at the same time, into the cares of his revenue, he cannot fail of being the greatest and the happiest king, and fulfilling those prophecies which run of him in these parts so generally; and moreover that, whomsoever his Majesty shall own to have cherished and supported these resolutions in him, cannot fail to be the happiest minister to his master, the kingdom, and himself; and I am sure I wish that may be your lordship's character and fortune. They say further, (as the Cordelier's sermon never ends without himself,) that when his Majesty is at ease with his parliament, he cannot better divert his people's thoughts and humours from working inward, than by busying them upon some easy war abroad, nor make the ill success of our late war forgotten, but by the good success of another; and that if he can enter into a common league with the Emperor, and the Swede, and the Dutch, for preserving these countries, and thereby checking the ambition of France, and restoring a firm and general peace of Christendom, no war can be of more justice and honour, nor, in such a conjunction, more easy, or of certain success." *

There is internal evidence that most of the remarks which Temple here ascribes to the "reasoners," or political gossips of Brussels, were in truth his own. With some of them, it is rather the part

* Sept. 16. 1667.

of the biographers* of the fallen minister to deal; but it may be justly remarked, that the correspondence of Clarendon, already mentioned†, does not support the opinion of his inveterate prejudice against a Spanish alliance, or of any difference, in his view of foreign policy, from Temple himself.

Much more is now known of Charles's ministers, than was at any time known to Temple, and there is no ground for tracing to the fall of Clarendon any change in the policy of England towards Spain or France. There is now the evidence of Charles himself, to his readiness, after that event, to contract the most intimate connection with Louis. Why his advances were received coldly by France, it is not easy to ascertain. Possibly Louis considered Charles as no formidable enemy, and he would naturally deem him an uncertain friend.

In the whole of this letter there is a remarkable consistency with the two great acts of Temple's political life, the Triple Alliance, and the scheme for governing through a popular council. There is perhaps a little too much of kingcraft, and of a desire to adapt public measures to the temper of the people, and the vanity of the House of Commons, rather than the true interests of the country.

The dismissal of Clarendon did not immediately reconcile the House of Commons to the remaining ministers.

* A Life of Clarendon may shortly be expected, written under peculiar advantages, by Thomas Henry Lister, Esq., who married Theresa Villiers, niece of the present Earl of Clarendon, and descended, in the female line, from Edward Hyde.

† P. 73.

"I cannot be much concerned," writes Temple to Arlington*, "at what your lordship is pleased to tell me in your last, of the 28th past, of your name having fallen in among the first warm reflections of the House upon the carriage of the late war†, because it is fit for me to believe that they will be at last as just in their opinions as they are now busy in their inquiries; and I know your lordship's actions and intentions can need nothing more to befriend you. However, I am sorry, upon this occasion, not to have succeeded in some election, not from any imagination your lordship could have wanted my endeavours of serving you, but because I love to be in the way of doing my duty, and nothing troubles me more than to have met in my life with so few occasions of doing it in any kind, and none in this. I have reason to be glad that I am here in the shade while the heat lasts, and if it had fallen out otherwise, could not have hoped to be wholly lost in the crowd of so much better and so much busier men: yet if your lordship's intentions towards me had succeeded, I should have been content to be engaged where my friends are so; and perhaps a person unsullied with

* Nov. 11. 1667.

† The parliament of which we have spoken (p. 94.) was prorogued on Feb. 8. 1667; met again on July 25. 1667, just after the treaty of Breda, and was immediately prorogued to the 10th of October. On the 19th of December the Houses were adjourned to the month of February. During this sitting Clarendon was banished, and inquiries were commenced into the miscarriages of the late war; but the Parliamentary History takes no notice of Arlington's name, except as annexed to a protest, signed also by Buckingham and others, against a resolution for *not* committing Lord Clarendon previously to the impeachment. —See Parl. Hist. iv. 363. 370. 402., and Com. Journ. ix. 4, &c.

any marks of party or passion might be heard for that respect, though for no other. But I have given over those thoughts at present, nor have any other about me besides what his Majesty's service in this station may furnish me with, and these are at this time but few."

While the government came slowly and reluctantly into the new counsels, Temple's plans assumed more of consistency, and took the form in which they ultimately prevailed. The fate of Flanders now hung upon the determination of England.

"The last time I saw the Marquis, he assured me that Spain would sooner lose this whole country than give up one town of what they keep or have lost this campaign, to purchase a peace; and further, that they would never make any without warranty of the Empire, England, and Holland." . . "He told me since, all those thoughts were ended which had made the Hollanders draw a little back, but that all would depend upon their ambassador's success in England, and their pursuit begin upon Boreel's account. What change may be argued from the retarding his journey I know not, but am apt to doubt, from some whispers, that *the despair of his Majesty's being either in posture at this time, or in disposition to engage so far in this quarrel as to give it a good end,* may have induced Holland to enter into some negotiations with France, which I am confident they intended not before; for, besides what the marquis has showed me to that purpose from their ambassador in Holland, *I remember*

Mr. De Witt told me, with all the marks of saying what he meant, that I might assure myself from him, while they had any hopes de sortir de cette affaire par la voie honnête, ils le ne feraient jamais par la scandaleuse, *for so he called agreeing and sharing with France in the conquest of these countries; but he said plainly, the other hopes would depend upon his Majesty's joining with them to end the war, without which they could not think it safe to engage in it.* In case some such treaties should be set on foot, or rather renewed, between France and Holland, how far that fear, and the same despair as to us, may prevail with the Spaniard to be content with saving any small stake here, I will not determine. The short of all these affairs seems to be this:—*If his Majesty and Holland can think fit to agree so far between this and the end of January, as to declare absolutely they will put an end to this war, and assist that crown which accepts the peace they offer*, there is no doubt they may either make a glorious war against France, or an easy peace; for there is not a prince of the Empire who would not be inclined to declare the same, when those two powers had led the way; and all the towns and troops in this country the very same day would grow into heart and defend themselves, upon such an encouragement. If his Majesty and Holland cannot agree in this point, this country is lost without all visible resource; for let the Emperor make what haste he can (if he be disposed to vigorous counsel), the French will be masters of what is left before he can make any considerable

diversion: and if the Spaniards are once beaten out of it, they will be no more able to return to it. I think this will agree: it is harder to tell how far his Majesty will be concerned in such an access of power to France, nor whether our danger from it be so near as to be considerable, that of Holland seeming to be between us; but certainly the riches which France will derive out of these countries will be vast, when they come to treat them without fears, and consequently without those respects which the Spaniards have been subject to; and the French greatness will grow by that means past all restraints or treaty with any of their neighbours as with equals. For the affairs of Spain, towards engaging his Majesty to such a union, if they are to be expected by Don Juan*, or the Earl of Sandwich, they will certainly come too late to have any effect; and the French have reason in saying, that if they get into the field next year before any league be formed against them, *ils se moqueront de tout leur voisinage.* The marquis assures me the Spanish ambassador in England has full powers, and if he can offer aught to induce his Majesty suddenly to those resolutions, the rest, I suppose, must be treated privately with De Witt, in Holland, rather than by their ambassador in England. And *whenever his Majesty shall resolve upon this measure, and agree them with Holland, if all be true that is said here of the Parliament's temper, they will easily be induced to second any*

* Don John of Austria, a natural son of Philip IV., was expected to take the command in the Spanish Netherlands.

*such resolutions of his Majesty, and by having a share given them in those counsels, be diverted from others that may be of less importance to the public good and interest of the kingdom."** Temple concluded with a representation of the disordered state of Flanders.

The answer of Arlington was cold and doubtful:—"Your letters entertain us here very well, though upon a sad subject, for they point out to us the miserable condition of that country; but much better than any other representation, particularly your last of the 22d, which I have shown to his Majesty. God knows whether any succour from their neighbours will be sufficient to enable them to protect what is left. The Holland ambassadors call upon us to help them to make the peace; and the ambassador from Spain and the Baron D'Isola call all overtures of that kind but delusions; and would persuade us the Dutch ambassadors have power to declare against France, if we will come to the assistance of Spain. We, on our side, are afraid the Dutch affect this declaration from us, only to enable them to make better conditions with France."†

Castel-Rodrigo took a fairer view of the policy of De Witt, which was, as it ought to have been, truly *Dutch.*

"In Holland's part in it, the marquis confesses their scope in general is to make the peace, and so that can be compact, they little care with what disadvantage or loss of places to the Spaniards,

* Nov. 22. 1667. † Nov. 22. Arl. 190.

while they think enough will be left for a rampart between them and France, and that time may be gained to make it firm, by league of guaranty among the neighbours to defend it. In the meantime Monsieur De Witt's aim seems to have been to get into possession of Ostend, Bruges and Ramme, as security for 5,000,000 guilders to be lent the Spaniards, with which the troops of Brandenburg and Lunemburg should have been drawn into Spanish pay, and consequently Holland freed of that expense that when these princes were; fallen into the league, the Dutch might be so far heads of it, as to employ it rather to make the peace than to carry on the war, and force Spain (in case France were consented) to a conclusion, with the giving up Burgundy, and allowance of the French prosecuting their other pretensions in case of the King of Spain's death, and Holland go away with the towns they had in caution, and the glory of making a peace as they pleased between the two crowns." They are now negotiating for 5,000,000 upon the Pais de Waas. "Upon the whole, it seems likely, that in case his Majesty be not either in condition or in inclination to enter into this affair, and be considered in it, Holland will either seek to save themselves by some treaty with France, and let the business run on, or else force the Spaniards to buy their assistance upon the hardest conditions that necessity and despair may at length squeeze out of them.*

Uninstructed and uninformed, Temple continues

* Temple to Arlington, Nov. .

his gossip:—"I am to acknowledge one from your lordship of the 11th past, with the news of a vote * that day in the House of Commons, which makes, perhaps, more noise here than it does at home, as the blow seems always greater to those who did not see the train by which the fire was given. The discourse of our affairs is very seasonable here at a time when their own furnish them so little, and what there is so little agreeable. There is that difference among many others between the marquis and the country, that his discourses are all sanguine, and theirs all melancholy. When I tell your lordship of what his excellency tells me of the great leagues and armies and sums like to appear next campaign in their favour, I hope your lordship knows the difference of our religions is, that I believe not so much as he; and that among all the marquis's great fortunes, he has not yet attained that of being implicitly believed, which, indeed, seldom falls to the share of so very abundant discoursers. I take myself to be discharged, when I tell my tale and my author."

. . . . "If his Majesty can bring about the Portugal peace, the Spaniards may be in case to offer what will be worth the hearing, and I am confident, what is in their power they would sooner offer to his Majesty than to any other hand; for they are, and have reason to be, much unsatisfied

* "That he (Lord Clarendon) hath deluded and betrayed his Majesty in foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war, and discovered and betrayed his secret counsels to his enemies." It was resolved that he should be impeached upon this article. — Com. Journ. ix. 18.

with the Hollanders' proceeding towards them in their late negotiations, and know none other is strong and near enough to help them in time. There is nothing can weaken our credit in them besides an opinion of his Majesty's being uneasy at home; and though when I talk with any of them, and show that his Majesty was never in such way of making himself great as now, and that it is as impossible for past accidents to return among us as for the smoke of a fire that is quite burnt out, — they tell me they believe me, and think it well grounded what I say; yet we have this misfortune, that it is not thought so, neither in France, Germany, nor Holland, no more than among them; and they confess, that perhaps the reason is only because people take up things in gross, and will not trouble themselves with knowing particulars in matters that do not very near concern them."*

While the King of England still hung back from active interference, and particularly from the concert with the States General which Temple had recommended, Temple became acquainted, through the Marquis and Count Marsyn, with the discussions which had passed between Louis and De Witt. The French King, it was supposed, was partly induced to his offers of a compromise, by the expected settlement between Spain and Portugal, which would enable the Spaniards to strengthen themselves in the Netherlands.

To the representations of the House of Austria,

* Dec. 2. 1667.

De Witt appeared to have "changed colour within a month past*," and to have become more French in his politics, in despair of obtaining the support either of Spain or of England in his opposition to the Prince of Orange. It is not to be supposed that this experienced politician lost sight of his own interests in the connection with France; but we have seen that his more recent policy had, in truth, inclined towards Spain.† "I never was more surprised," says De Lionne, "than when I saw this project" of 20th Oct., "and the manner in which they have changed the cards in our hands."‡ Possibly the views of the Pensionary himself underwent no change, and his new project originated in the opposition of his colleagues, of whom some were for a more active demonstration in favour of Spain.

Such was the state of affairs among the powers of the Continent, when Arlington, who, three days before, had been embarrassed by the contradictory representations of the ministers of Holland and of Spain, announced to Temple a despatch of great importance. The announcement was of the 25th of November; the despatch was to bear the same date; but though packets arrived successively in their

* Temple to Arlington, Dec. 9. 1667.

† D'Estrades suspected that the Dutch were even about to supply Spain with pecuniary succours: De Witt explained, that in answer to the demands of concert and succour from Spain, he had proposed that Spain should *sell* to the Dutch Ostend and other towns in the Netherlands. Oct. 27. vi. 94. But he proposed that the States should be mediators only, a suggestion which greatly offended Louis.—D'Estrades, Nov. 10. De Lionne, Nov. 18. pp. 106. and 118.

‡ Oct. 28. vi. 96.

course, nearly three weeks* elapsed, and no letter came from Arlington.

In the interval, rumours prevailed of its importance, if not of its purport; it was expected that Temple would be summoned to England, and he found himself in a situation of much discomfort.

At last, an express brought the promised despatch; its contents responded well to the note of preparation which had been sounded, since they tended to precisely that course of policy which Temple himself had urgently recommended.

* The despatch was dated Nov. 25. 1667, O.S.; or Dec. 5. N.S. It was not received till Dec. 25. N.S.

CHAPTER VII.

NEGOTIATION OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

1667—1668.

FROM the instructions now received*, it appeared, that the Dutch ambassadors had been commissioned to propose a mediation, with a determination to use force against the party which should refuse the peace upon "fair conditions." An apprehension is expressed, founded, avowedly, upon what had been "hinted to the King out of France," that the object of the Dutch in this proposal was, to embroil England with France, and then leave her in a separate war with that power. Temple was therefore to ascertain, from De Witt himself, "whether the States would really and effectively enter into *a league offensive and defensive with us for the protection of the Spanish Netherlands*, and, if the interests of both nations should require it, *even against France itself*, whose successful progress in those countries the States have so much reason to apprehend, as well the daily improving strength of their force by sea; from both which they can no way be secured but by *a firm union with England upon the old foundations of amity betwixt this crown and them*,

* Nov. 25. 1667. Appendix, B.

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* Nov. 25. 1667. Appendix, B.

and not the particular advantages gained in the last treaty of peace. On the other hand, he was to throw out a hint of the possibility of a junction between England and France;—"Despairing to agree the two crowns, it will behove us to secure our own interests the best we can;—let him bethink himself what an accession it would be to the French King's strength, if we should lend him a considerable body of foot the next campaign, and in that case, what would become of Flanders, and even Holland itself?" This communication, at once conciliatory and minacious, was to be prefaced by an assurance from the King himself to De Witt, that "*his personal honour and engagement was the best security he was willing to depend upon in the negotiation.*" The natural apprehensions of De Witt in regard to the Prince of Orange were to be allayed by an assurance, that "although the King had all possible kindness for his nephew," and even a hope was expressed that he would, in due time, have suitable employments in the state, "yet, that the consideration of his interests at that time should not at all interfere with the great interest betwixt the nations." This discourse concerning the Prince was not to be commenced until De Witt should appear inclinable to the main proposition.

To the Marquis, Temple was instructed to speak of his journey as occasioned by a domestic occurrence: he was to press him for an unreserved communication of the prospects of Spain, and to apprise him generally of his intention to converse with De Witt.

Temple set off with all speed to Antwerp, and made his communication to the Marquis. The Spaniard did all that he could to persuade him to a declaration from England in behalf of Flanders, assuring him that Spain had concluded subsisting treaties with the dukes of Brandenburg and Lunenburg; that the Emperor would certainly give his assistance; that the peace with Portugal was nearly concluded, and that it had been resolved to send Don John of Austria into Flanders.*

There was nothing in this information to slacken the zeal of Temple in the further pursuit of his instructions. He repaired with his usual activity to the Hague, and at once proposed to De Witt a defensive and offensive alliance. De Witt treated him with much of the frankness which characterised the future communications between these two statesmen. He avowed that it had been the States' intention to co-operate with Spain in the defence of Flanders, but that difficulties had arisen as to the terms: the States required Ostend and Bruges for themselves, unless England should join with them, in which case they would be contented with Bruges. There had been much dissatisfaction between the States and the Marquis on this occasion, and they were now resolved† to attempt a

* Arl. 191.

† This resolution was adopted by the States "at their last separation," and is probably that upon which the instructions to the Dutch ambassadors, which gave rise to those of the 25th of November from England, was founded. De Witt's statement of the proposition concerning Ostend and Bruges did not differ much from that of the Marquis, who had, moreover, acknowledged, notwithstanding the declaration

mediation, jointly with their allies, between the two crowns; with the view of "*obliging France* to accept the peace upon the terms now offered by Louis; namely, that France should either *retain the conquests of the last campaign*, or receive instead of them, *Aire, St. Omer, Cambray, Douay*, and either *Luxemburg*, or the *county of Burgundy*."*

There was also to be an immediate suspension of arms; and the peace, when made upon these terms, was to be guaranteed by the mediating powers, who were to furnish each a specified force, and among whom it was hoped to include Sweden.

"*Upon my objections*," says Temple in his report of this conference†, "*against the honour, as well as the safety of this proceeding*, in comparison of entering jointly with their allies upon the protection of Flanders, and my insinuating the likelihood of

made to D'Estrades, that Spain was in treaty with Holland for a loan of 5,000,000 guilders on the security of the *Pais de Waas*.

* Sept. 21. 1667. D'Estrades, vi. 46. This offer included a suspension of arms to the end of March. Charleroi and Douay were omitted, on condition that Spain acknowledged the king of Portugal.

† "Sir W. Temple's conference with M. De Witt, December, 1667." (In Arl. 191.) In his letter to the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, written after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, Temple gives an account of this previous conversation with M. De Witt. There is nothing absolutely inconsistent with the official report to which the text refers: but no notice is taken of Temple's objection to the mediation upon the score of honour or safety, still less of De Witt's admitting the force of the objection. Nor does anything appear of the *threat* thrown out, of England's taking part *with* France. (Temple, i. 308.) This omission of points so important throws some doubt upon the completeness of Temple's reports. Our rule has been, to give the preference to official and primary communications, where such exist: it is unfortunate when, as in the present instance, the account of a transaction must be taken partly from the one and partly from the other species of document.

his Majesty's taking part *on some side* in this quarrel, which if with Spain, might give us their sea towns, or anything else in their despair; if with France, would make that power unresistible either by Holland or the Princes of the Empire, *M. De Witt confessed I had reason, both in the points of honour and safety.*"

This minacious insinuation, that England, if not supported in her own way by Holland *on one side*, would *take the other*, was clearly warranted by Temple's instructions; and as these instructions said nothing of mediation, it was his duty to propose, in preference, the offensive league which his instructions suggested. In the observation, in which De Witt is said to have concurred, upon the points of honour and safety, it would appear that Temple intended to say, that it would neither be honourable to acquiesce in terms dictated by France, or safe to adopt those which Louis had specifically offered. All that is known of De Witt's sentiments makes it probable, that he admitted the inadequacy of the terms, to the adoption whereof the States had been driven by the tardiness of the King of England. "It was unhappy his Majesty had discovered nothing of his intentions in so many months." To the proposal of a league De Witt answered, "That the States had never made any league *offensive*, and that it was their maxim," (and it is a maxim consistent with true policy,) "never to do it; nor so much as a clause in a defensive, which might in time, or by change of accidents,

draw them upon the offensive." He was quite ready for a *defensive* alliance, and offered money from the States, "if his Majesty would declare himself for the protection of Flanders."

Temple, unauthorised to give any answer, hastened home* with his report to the King. "He gave M. De Witt the character he thought he deserved, of a very able minister and a sincere dealer, very different from what Sir George Downing had given of him at court, who would have him pass for such another as himself, but only a craftier man in the trade than he."

"Upon all this his Majesty came," on the 1st of January 1668, "to a resolution," writes Sir William Temple, "of the greatest importance which has yet passed, I think, here, in any foreign affairs, and began the new year, I hope, with a good presage, and in which the new ministry†, *particularly my Lord Keeper‡, and my Lord Arlington, have had*

* Lady Giffard accompanied him to London and back. His wife and family still remained in London, until he should see "where his wandering planet was like to fix." — Temple, i. 295.

† Although there was not, at this time, an extensive change of office, the disgrace of Lord Clarendon justifies the term "new ministry." And it is probable that new persons were admitted into the secret councils, and others omitted. The Duke of Buckingham was now master of the horse, and regarded as a man in power. The Duke of Albemarle was at the head of the board of Treasury, consisting of Lord Ashley, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir William Coventry, and Sir John Duncombe. Ashley had not yet obtained notoriety. Clifford had begun to acquire influence. Coventry, according to Lingard, was one of the Foreign Committee. — xii. 187.

‡ Sir Orlando Bridgeman was the son of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester. He had been a lawyer of some practice in the time of Charles I., to whom he faithfully adhered. In 1660, Charles II. made him Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and soon afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. On the retirement of Clarendon, in 1667, he was made Lord Keeper. He was a man of integrity, a

*a very great part.** Mine," he continues, "will be to return immediately upon it to Holland, where, if it please God I arrive and succeed, I expect a great deal of satisfaction by my errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a great deal in it too, as in an affair I remember to be so agreeable with what have always been your opinions. †

The nature of this resolution appears in the instructions ‡ which were issued on the 1st of January, 1667-8. The English government wisely acquiesced in De Witt's objections to an offensive league. Temple was commanded to propose to the States a *defensive* alliance, and a treaty of mediation between France and Spain. According to the project furnished to Temple, France was to be *obliged* to make peace upon the terms offered by Louis, and immediately to desist from the further prosecution of the war. Should *Spain* make a difficulty in accepting the terms, it was to be left to the mediators to *persuade* her to it. The draft of the instruction added "*or to force her*," but these words were taken out by Charles himself, whose marginal observation was this:—"From the

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zealous loyalist, and a good churchman, though Charles I. and Clarendon thought him too favourable to dissenters. He is said to have been a bad judge in Chancery, having been accustomed to the common law. He was ancestor to the present Lord Bradford.—Collins, viii. 370. Clarendon's Life, i. 213. North's Life of Guilford, p. 88.

* To Sir John Temple, Jan. 2. 1668. i. 294.

† It has already been stated, that Sir John Temple disapproved of the first Dutch war.

‡ See Appendix, B.

indecency of the word *force*, I would willingly have it left out. C. R." The mediating powers were to guarantee the whole arrangement.

Thus far, the English project was conformable to De Witt's suggestion; but there was a further clause which originated in the councils of Charles himself, and may perhaps account for the zealous adoption of the cause of Spain, which equally surprised Temple and De Witt. Temple was further instructed to persuade the Marquis *to supply England with as much money as he could spare*, in order to enable her to perform her part, or, should no agreement be made with Holland, England would still be willing to assist the Spaniards in the Netherlands, provided that Spain would furnish the means.

In fine, Spain was to be persuaded, if possible, to select *that* alternative, which should leave France in possession of the captured towns, rather than give her the proposed equivalent.*

These instructions hardly go so much beyond the former as to justify the epithet of "sudden:" yet it is probable that, without Temple's representation of the friendly disposition of De Witt, the English government would not have ventured upon a scheme, in which the interests of France were so

* In his letter to the Lord Keeper (Jan. 27. 1667–8. i. 308.), Temple speaks of the terms as if they were to be "*such as the Dutch and he should agree*, but as advantageous as the States could be induced to for the preservation of Flanders, and recovery of such places as shall be most necessary to it. Without the instructions now for the first time published, this representation would mislead. There is, indeed, no warrant for it, except the preference stated at the conclusion of the instructions, which scarcely bears out the statement.

decidedly subordinate to those of Spain. Arlington, it is true, had not at this time the inclination to France which he afterwards evinced; but the former instructions to Temple were evidently framed under a cautious apprehension of offending France. This apprehension, still more, the hint of a possible union with France, entirely disappeared in those now issued.

Full of these new counsels, Temple embarked for the Hague, in the royal yacht which was assigned to him; but the accomplishment of his favourite policy had nearly been frustrated by the fury of the elements. During thirty hours, the vessel was exposed to a storm, in which seamen as well as passengers gave themselves over for lost; and they would scarcely have escaped, if they had not had the good fortune to fall in with a pilot from the Dutch coast, upon which they were unconsciously driven*.

Having surmounted these dangers, Temple arrived at the Hague, and opened his commission to De Witt.

With much judgment, he commenced by recapitulating to the Pensionary what had passed in their previous conference; he reminded De Witt of all that he had it in charge to say from the King, of his Majesty's unwillingness that Flanders should be lost, and of his suggestion of a defensive and offensive alliance. He then stated quite fairly how these overtures were received by De Witt, his

* Lady Giffard, and Temple to the King, i. 324.

objections to an *offensive* league, and his approbation of a *defensive* league with England; his concurrence in the King's view of the absolute necessity of defending Flanders, with which end, however, he preferred, in the first instance, a joint mediation; failing which, they must come to a declaration of war: for these purposes, he reminded De Witt he had avowed his opinion of the necessity of a strict alliance between his Majesty and the States.

The accomplished diplomatist with whom Temple dealt, had not learned the art, more recently taught, of suppressing or concealing all emotions of the countenance.* "When I had said this," says Temple, "and observed by his *action and face* that he assented to this recital of all that had passed between us, I asked him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had mistaken nothing in representing his Majesty's meaning to him, or his to his Majesty. He answered that it was all right, and that he very well remembered it, and much commended a method of proceeding so exact and sincere, by an endeavour to avoid all mistakes between us."

Having thus obtained De Witt's acquiescence in his representation of the former conversation, Temple told him "that his Majesty had taken so much confidence in his opinion and judgment, as well as in his credit with the States, that he had taken a sudden and firm resolution upon it;" and

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, xiii. 26.

then proposed exactly what had been suggested by the Pensionary: the joint mediation; the compulsion towards France; the suspension of hostilities, and the defensive league.

A more artful diplomatist would have avoided, by withdrawing, or speciously qualifying, his candid acknowledgment of Temple's accuracy, the consequence to which it brought him. De Witt was evidently not prepared to be taken at his word; "he received the discourse with a countenance pleased, yet, as Temple marked, something surprised, as if he expected not a return from his Majesty so sudden and so resolute;" but he neither retracted what he had said, nor employed less of frankness in his further communications; "he was still confident the States would enter with his Majesty into the mediation, *though France gave them hopes of succeeding by their own.*" While he thus truly stated the position of the discussions with France, he acknowledged the difference of opinion among the States: "The provinces differed in opinion upon what terms the peace should be made; Utrecht was so bold as to think that nothing but justice ought to be considered in the case; that all that France had conquered should be restored to Spain, and their pretensions be referred to judgment or arbitrage. But Holland, with most of the other provinces, were of another mind, and considering their own present condition, as well as that of France, thought it best to keep the French to their own offer, but he believed would come to means of more force if

France should recede from what they had themselves advanced to the States. That for the defensive league between us, he did not know whether the late sore were yet fit for such an application, but would try the mind of the States. He doubted they would think it like to prove too sudden a change of all their interests, and that which would absolutely break them off from so old and constant a friend as France, to rely wholly upon *so new and uncertain a friend as England had proved.*"*

It was natural that De Witt should hesitate; he felt himself, as well as his country, too dependent upon France, for a sudden and irrevocable junction with England. Though he was quite sincere in the apprehensions of French power which he expressed, he scarcely dared to throw off her protection for the friendship of a king whose perseverance he justly distrusted. Without reference to the degree in which his personal influence in the States was maintained by the connection with France, the public motives are sufficient to justify him in hesitating at a measure, which might place his country between an unscrupulous enemy and a faithless friend.

One of the most accomplished of French *diplomates* † watched his every turn, and reported to his own master every symptom of approximation

* Temple to the Lord Keeper, Jan. 27. 1667–8. (i. 308.) The first letter to Arlington after Temple's return to the Hague is not forthcoming.

† Godefroi Comte D'Estrades was born in 1607; was a *diplomate* and a soldier at an early age: he was ambassador to England in 1661, and negotiated the purchase of Dunkirk: again in 1666. He died in 1686. — Biog. Univ. xiii. 404. See Wicquefort, book ii. c. 17. p. 403. for a high character of him.

towards England. D'Estrades was not ignorant of Temple's first journey to the Hague, although he was imperfectly informed of its origin. Not aware of his instructions from England, he deemed Temple an agent, on this occasion, of the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo. According to the information received by D'Estrades, the marquis had proposed to Holland a league with England and Sweden, for constraining France to make peace. De Witt had replied, "that his masters would not approve of this expedient, and that it would be better that the Spaniards should make the peace upon the conditions proposed by the King, towards accomplishing which the States would do all in their power."

This representation from De Witt of his conference with Temple, did not convey the whole truth to D'Estrades.* He suppressed, it would

* Quelques villes de Hollande étant ébranlées depuis que le Sieur Temple, Résident du Roi d'Angleterre, est venu trouver M. de Wit *de la part de Castel-Rodrigo*, qui lui a dit que toutes les places se rendroient au Roi s'ils ne les secouroient; et qu'il valoit autant perdre la Flandre tout d'un coup, que de se voir consumer à petit feu, et lui a ensuite proposé une ligue avec l'Angleterre et la Suède, dont le dit Castel-Rodrigo étoit assuré, et que tous ensemble contraindroient le Roi à faire la paix, tenant tous ses ports bloquéz, ôtant toute sorte de debit à la France. Mons. de Wit lui a répondu, que ses maîtres n'approuveront pas cet expédient, qu'il seroit mieux que les Espagnols fissent la paix aux conditions que le Roi propose, à quoi les Etats tiendront leur main de tout son pouvoir. Le dit Temple a passé en Angleterre et a dépêché à Castel-Rodrigo un exprès pour lui faire savoir cette réponse, que ne lui avoit pas plû. Cependant M. de Wit et moi avons vu tous les députez des villes, et avons remis ceux qui étoient ébranléz, qui se sont confirméz dans leur premier avis de contraindre les Espagnols d'accepter les conditions de paix que le Roi propose..... Je ne doute pas que M. de Ruvigni ne vous informe au vrai des intentions du Roi d'Angleterre; mais je vous puis assurer, comme le sachant à n'en pouvoir douter qu'il fait toutes les diligences possibles et sécrètes pour engager les Etats à une ligue avec lui pour la défense des Pays-Bas, et que c'est à present le plus grand effort que M. de Wit ait à soutenir, y ayant des provinces entières qui y sont tout-à-fait portées. — D'Estrades, Jan. 12. 1668. vi. 221.

appear, all that he had said in favour of an alliance with England.

He who would here censure the disingenuousness of the Pensionary, should allow for the fearful situation in which he and his country stood, while the victorious army of Marshal Turenne traversed the neighbourhood, almost without opposition, and he had no certain reliance upon England, or any other power capable of affording succour. The jealousy of France extended to the proceedings, however apparently innocent, of the Dutch ambassadors in London. At this very time, D'Estrades complained to De Witt that these ambassadors had met the Spanish ministers in conference with the English*, a proceeding which De Lionne characterised as "*une pas assez scandaleuse*."† The Pensionary was required to instruct M. Meerman to abstain from such communications, and to live in greater confidence with M. de Ruvigni.‡

According to Meerman's despatch, communicated to D'Estrades, the Dutch ministers had endeavoured to persuade the English commissaries, with whom they were treating on commercial subjects, that England ought to induce the Spaniards, even by force if necessary, to accept the terms offered by France. The English had answered that the proposition was unjust, and their master would never consent to it: Meerman had then declared that the States would do it alone;

* D'Estrades, Jan. 19. p. 227. † P. 232.

that on the report of this convention to the King of England, Molina and Isola, the representatives of Spain and Austria, had requested a joint conference, in which they had in vain urged the Dutch and English to join against France. Such was Meerman's account of the conference for which he was rebuked: he added, that he did not despair of bringing England into his views.

M. de Lionne, about this time, addressed a remarkable despatch to D'Estrades: — "They admit here the truth of what you say, that great pains are taken in London to engage the States in a league for the Low Countries; and although there were but . . . .* alone who loved the Spaniards, they would not fail continually to throw out such propositions; but the King knows still more certainly, and without doubt, that all that the English say on this subject proceeds from umbrage, and the fear they have *lest the States should unite themselves more closely with the King (of France)*, and perhaps to induce them to take some steps which may entirely disoblige France; and I can add, that when the negotiators for this league shall have made progress in London, so that the King apprehends that it may be concluded, *he has in his hands certain means for putting a sudden stop to it, and even of giving to the English the greatest pleasure in the world. I cannot explain myself farther, but M. De Witt is too much enlightened, not easily to know that what I say is*

* Left blank in D'Estrades; nor can the deficiency be supplied by any probable conjecture.

true."* The date of this letter would connect it with the "eventual treaty†" with the Emperor, but the mention of the English rather leaves us to believe that De Lionne now alluded to the power which Louis, who, perhaps, did not sufficiently distinguish the King from the people of England, had of purchasing the neutrality or co-operation of Charles.

Such were the views of the French King, and his relations with the States General, when Temple was conducting his negotiations with De Witt. The narrative of the conference has been interrupted, in order to exhibit, on the one hand, the embarrassments of the Dutch statesman, on the other, the difficulties of the English negotiator, in bringing him into the policy of England.

We broke off at an observation from De Witt upon the uncertainty of the English counsels, and the consequent danger of offending France. To these too just observations, the English diplomatist, availing himself of the position in which he had already fixed De Witt, replied thus adroitly:

"I told him that the doing what he said would be the effect of any treaties of this nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and composed as we could; that *France would take it as ill of us as of them to be stopped in the remaining conquest of Flanders, as to be forced out of all they had already gained:* that he knew very well it had been long their design, at any price, to possess themselves

* M. de Lionne, Jan. 20. p. 232. † See p. 126.

of the Spanish Netherlands; and he knew as well that it was their interest to do so, considering the advantages it would give them over all the rest of Christendom: that it was as much our interest to hinder it, and that nothing could do it but a firm conjunction between us; that the States' part would be next after Flanders was gone, and therefore *they had now as much need of being protected by England against France,* as they thought they had three or four years ago of being protected by France against England; and that they had no other choice but either continuing their friendship with France till they should see both Flanders and themselves swallowed up by such a neighbour, or else change their whole measures, and enter into the strictest alliance with his Majesty for the preservation of both: and let France take it as they pleased." *

To all this concerning their dangers from France, De Witt replied, by admitting much of its truth, observing, however, that "the ventures were great on the other side too." He represented the greater exposure of the States, the weakness of the Spaniards, and the ill-feeling between them and the Dutch. He doubted whether Sweden could be

* Temple to the Lord Keeper, Jan. 27. i. 313–14. It may be noted, in illustration of the mode of transacting official business in those days, that the account of these earlier conferences with De Witt is only to be found in Temple's correspondence with the Lord Keeper, his particular friend in the administration. Temple "thought not fit to trouble my Lord Arlington with them, as not perhaps proper or of weight enough for the view of his majesty, or of the foreign committee, and yet with the knowledge and reflection of some of his ministers, in order to the conduct of his majesty's counsels hereafter, both in this and others of his affairs."

engaged against France; "and, last of all, though this resolution seemed now to be taken by his Majesty and his ministers, upon the surest and wisest foundations, which were those of true interest and safety, *yet no man knew how long they might last.* If they should break all their measures with France, and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by such a conjunction, any change of counsels in England would be their certain ruin. *He knew not this present ministry, and could say nothing to them, but he knew the last too well.* Upon which he said a good deal of our uncertain conduct since his Majesty's return; and concluded that the unsteadiness of counsels in England seemed a fatal thing to our constitution: he could not judge from what ground; *mais depuis le temps de la reine Elizabet, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne pouvoit jamais prendre des mesures pour deux années de temps.*" All this was said in a melancholy tone, and an irresolute manner.

"For the unsteadiness of our counsels," answered Temple, with a confidence sincerely felt, but slightly grounded, "I would rather bewail than defend it; but I should not have made this journey, if I had not been confident *that* had been ended, and we now bottomed past any change or remove! I could not pretend to know any body's mind, certainly, but my own; but upon this matter *I was as confident of his Majesty's, of your lordship's, and of Lord Arlington's, as I was of my own.* Upon

this occasion, I said a great deal, *not only of the interests, but resentments* *, *that had engaged his Majesty and his ministers in this counsel;* and concluded, that I was confident it would never break; but would answer, if ever it did, *it should never be by my hand;* and was as confident I might answer the same for your lordship and my Lord Arlington, and that you would fall or stand upon this bottom."

De Witt took all this very well; "he would trust his Majesty's honour and interest upon so great a conjuncture, as well as the sincereness and constancy of his ministers, whom he could judge of by no other lights but what I gave him; *made me compliments upon the great confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and seen of me since the first visit I made him* ~~in my~~ passage here, after the end of the war."

De Witt now began to give way to Temple's arguments, and advised him to see Count Dhona, and try how far Sweden could be engaged. To him, Temple went the same evening, in his usual free and easy manner; he "ran over all ceremonies of their characters, by going straight into his chamber, and taking a chair before the Swede could rise

* What is intended by this word? Does it allude to the discontent of Charles at Louis's rejection of his overtures towards a more intimate connection? There is no reason to believe that Temple was conversant of these. The difficulty of understanding the allusion is increased by the uncertainty of Temple's language; it is possible that he may use the word in the signification of the French word *Ressentiment*, and may, therefore, rather intend a feeling kindly towards Holland, than vindictive towards France.

out of his :" begging to be excused, because "ceremonies were made to facilitate business, not to hinder it."—"I knew nothing," he said, "to make my seeing the other ambassadors at the Hague necessary, and so was content with the difficulties had been introduced between our characters; but, thinking it absolutely for my master's service, to enter into confidence with his Excellency upon my errand here, I had resolved to do it in this manner, and if he gave me leave, would pursue it as if our acquaintance and commerce had been of never so long a date." *

Dhona appeared well disposed to a triple alliance, but less sanguine than Temple of the possibility of overcoming, especially in a short time, the reluctance of the Dutch to break with France.

On reporting this conference to De Witt, Temple found him ready to conclude the league with England, — waiting for the future accession of Sweden.

But one of the greatest difficulties remained. According to the common forms of the constitution of the United Provinces, the treaty must be sent by the several deputies to all their principals for consideration: this Temple knew would take up six weeks, during which time the French ambassador might, by bribery in the towns, or otherwise, prevent and ruin this important counsel. "Unless, therefore," said Temple to De Witt, "the States-General would conclude and sign the treaty

* Temple, i. 317.

immediately, and trust to the approbation of their several provinces and towns after it was done, I would give it up for gone, and think no more of it."

To De Witt this appeared impossible: "No such thing had ever been done since the first institution of their Commonwealth;" it should be got through as quickly as possible. Temple, however, cut the matter short, and would hear of nothing but an immediate conclusion of the treaty; and so the private conferences ended.*

"I tell your lordship," writes Temple to the lord keeper, "all these circumstances, that, knowing where the difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what advances on my side this knot has been tied, your lordship and Lord Arling-

* This is the full account which Temple gives to his friend, Lord Keeper Bridgeman, of his interviews with De Witt; the following is the brief report made to the Secretary of State: — "Upon my two first conferences with M. De Witt, which were the Tuesday and Wednesday, I found him much satisfied with his Majesty's resolution concerning our neighbours, but of the opinion that the condition of *forcing Spain* was necessary to their common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that may arise. For the defensive league he was of his former opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his Majesty at Scheveling, by which all matters of commerce might be so adjusted as to leave no seeds of any new quarrel between us." It is remarkable that De Witt is here made to insist upon "the condition of *forcing* SPAIN," whereas nothing is said of this in the letter to Bridgeman, and the project adopted is very pointedly for forcing *France*. It is possible that Temple intends by the first expression to signify De Witt's doubts as to the abandonment of his connection with Louis, with whom he treated upon the footing of forcing Spain. If there is any discrepancy, the report to Bridgeman may be preferred, not only because it is the fullest, but because its details lead naturally to what was actually concluded. Temple cannot avoid mentioning, and it is really an important feature in the transaction, the "great confidence and satisfaction" of himself and De Witt "in one another's sincere and frank way of treating." — Hague, Jan. 24., i. 295.

ton may the better know how to support this affair, and make many others easy by recovering the credit of our conduct in England, so far lost by the unsteadiness too truly laid to our charge; and at least by your own constancy in what you have begun, make good the character you have already in the world, and the assurances I have given M. De Witt upon your occasion."

Temple had at an early period said, what he was commanded to say, concerning the Prince of Orange. De Witt took this very well, but, perhaps, went a little too far, when he assured Temple that "he never failed to see the Prince once or twice a week, and *grew to have a particular affection for him;* and that the States designed the Captain-generalship of all the forces for him, as soon as by his age he became capable of it." * Yet it may be readily believed, that the plain manners and decisive character of William were, even at an early age, appreciated by his countrymen, and it is possible that he may not have grudged him *military* command.

After a formal audience of the States-General, Temple had a conference with the "Eight Commissioners of Secret Affairs," appointed to treat with him.

At this eventful meeting (if that can be called eventful, of which the results were of so short duration!) Temple offered his project of a defensive league, "as that without which, perhaps, neither of

* To Arlington, i. 297.

them would be very forward to speak their minds with confidence and freedom in what concerned their neighbours;" announced his master's "compliance with the sense of the States in the offices of the mediation between the two crowns," and desired to know, in the first instance, the resolution of the States. This call for an immediate declaration of their intentions was a little piece of diplomatic skill: Temple knew well, that the States-General were not agreed; neither Zealand nor Utrecht had come into De Witt's proposals; Zealand being for the division of Flanders with France, and Utrecht for obtaining, by arbitration or otherwise, more favourable terms for Spain. It was in the hope that a knowledge of the King's resolution to join with them, even before they were agreed among themselves, might "produce some counsels a little more *favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his Majesty,*" that Temple pressed the States for a speedy answer to his offer of a defensive treaty. De Witt, however, who was spokesman, urged that a mediation was "of pressing haste, as well as necessity; that they *could not have powers upon the defensive treaty under two months,*" and it might then be referred with the arrangements of commerce for decision in England.

But Temple was resolute:—"I thought fit to cut this matter short, and told them directly, *I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in consequence or conjunction of the defensive league;*

in which I thought his Majesty had all the reasons that could be, both because he would not venture a war's ending in Flanders to begin upon England; and, on the other side, knew the States, whose danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous resolutions in their neighbours' affairs till they were secure at home by his Majesty's defence."

"That his Majesty thought the most generous and friendly advance that could be, was made on his side by his proposition, being himself so much more out of danger than they were, and so much courted to a conjunction with France to their prejudice, as well as that of Flanders; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with princes who had lately *des melées* with them as well as his Majesty; and that, God be thanked, his Majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any prince or state of Christendom."*

This conference ended unsuccessfully, because the Dutchmen would not agree to the defensive league, without the commercial stipulations which they thought favourable to Holland. They wished to have a new commercial treaty, instead of the provisional arrangement made at Breda†, whereby the articles of commerce existing between France and the Dutch were adopted by England, until other stipulations should be made. But the further negotiation was entrusted to De Witt and Isbrant: by them it was proposed‡ that those provisional ar-

* P. 298. † Dumont, vii. part i. 48, 49. ‡ This was on the Friday

ticles (which afforded unusual facilities to the trade of neutrals in time of war) should be re-enacted in the new treaty.*

Temple became apprehensive that he should be obliged to wait for further powers and instructions, and that, in the meanwhile, D'Estrades, of whose ill-humour he was well assured, would take measures for counteracting him. He feared also the intrigues of Ruvigni, who was very busy in England. These considerations made it important to lose no time. In the conference, therefore, of Saturday, "I told Monsieur De Witt," continues Temple, "what confidence I had given his Majesty of his sincere proceedings, and how I had been supported by your lordship in those suggestions, against the opinion of some other great men: what advantage these would take if they saw our whole negotiation was stopped upon a thing that looked like a *chicanerie*, since articles provisional, till new agreements, were in effect as strong as perpetual, which might itself be changed by new agreements: that this would be esteemed an artifice of his, especially since he had declared, upon my asking him, that it was his own opinion (and that he would tell

* We know not to what transaction the following passage refers:— "Perhaps M. D'Estrades might endeavour to infuse some jealousies into them by the relation of what had passed between M. de Ruvigni and your lordship three or four days after the date of my first instructions; upon which I told them partly (as his Majesty had given me leave) what had passed in that affair. M. de Witt asked me whether I could shew him the paper drawn up between you, and knowing I had it not, desired earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no use should be made of it but by joint consent: but saying, nothing would go so far to justify them in case of a breach growing necessary between them and France." — P. 300.

the States so, if they demanded it,) not to conclude without insertion of those articles."

. . . . "I found Monsieur Isbrant was content with my reasons, and said he would undertake his province (of Utrecht) should be so; but Monsieur De Witt said, Holland and Zealand would not. I told them, at last, that I was sure the States would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this, and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his Majesty's resolution, in answer to my letter, before they concluded, with resolutions, however, that this should not hinder at last: that I foresaw many things might arise in ten days' time to break all our good intentions, and some more than I had told them, or could at present." Sir William Temple added, in terms highly characteristic,—"*If they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word,* I should propose an expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose." Here the English minister, with diffidence well assumed, made a pause, until he obtained from the Dutchmen the encouragement which he expected:—"They desired me I would propose, however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that, in case I afterwards received his Majesty's leave, in answer of my Friday's letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. *They both*

looked awhile one upon another, and, after a pause, Monsieur De Witt gave me his hand, and, after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that, if I would promise them what I had said, en homme de bien, *they would ask no further assurance of me."** Each party undertook to procure the assent of his master to the insertion of these provisional articles in the defensive league, with a confirmation of the treaty of Breda. After this difficulty well ended, the treaty proceeded quickly to a conclusion.† Temple, in the spirit of Charles's note, objected to the strength of the terms applied to the case of a failure to persuade Spain into the treaty. There he moderated, from *la force et la contrainte*, first to *moyens plus durs*, and afterwards to *moyens plus efficaces*.

At eleven o'clock on Monday morning the treaty was formally executed.

"After sealing," says Temple, in a passage which all historians have thought worthy to be recorded‡, "we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying, upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, ici comme frères;* and Monsieur De Witt made me a most obliging compliment of having the honour, which never any other minister had before me, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the

* P. 302.

† It would seem that the Dutch deputies had prepared the projects of two treaties, upon which, and not upon that of Arlington, the discussion took place.

‡ Hume, Lingard, &c.

greatest importance, and a *secours* of the greatest expense they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months' delay; and added upon it, that, now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

"I must add these words, to do him right, in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square, in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country; and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him: and for his industry, no man had ever more, I am sure: for these five days, at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night."*

* P. 303.

CHAPTER VIII.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

1668.

THUS was completed the Triple Alliance of the Hague*; the transaction in diplomacy, which has immortalised the name of Temple.

The treaties comprising this alliance were two. There was, first, a treaty of perpetual defensive alliance between England and Holland; and secondly, a treaty between these two powers and Sweden†, which forms more peculiarly the Triple League.

The importance of this treaty, as well to general history as to the Life of Temple, and indeed, the singularity of some of its stipulations, demand here an account of its contents.

The preamble recites the labour and earnest entreaty, whereby the English and Dutch governments have induced the French King to lay down his arms, if the Spaniards would either cede to him the places which he conquered in the last

* Jan. 23. 1668, i. 344. and 351. See Appendix, C.

† The Swedish minister did not sign with the others; but on the 26th he executed an engagement for his master's accession, which was completed on the 5th of May. — Dumont, vii. part i. p. 91.

campaign, or make over to him their rights in Luxemburgh (or in Franche Comté), together with Cambray and the Cambresis, Douay, Aire, St. Omer, Wynox-bergen, Furnes, and Lincken *: and it declares the agreement of the King of England and the States General, "by their joint counsels and utmost endeavours to exhort, and as much as in them lies, *oblige*, France and Spain to make peace upon these terms. It is then stipulated, 1st, That the two powers shall endeavour to persuade the King of France to undertake, by a treaty with those powers, to conclude peace with Spain upon one or the other of these conditions.

2. France is to be persuaded to prolong the cessation of arms to the end of May.

3. "But that the Most Christian King may have no just occasion to refuse to prolong the cessation, the two powers shall oblige themselves, by the same treaty, to take especial care that the Spaniards shall cede either the French conquests, or the equivalent."

4. "In case the two powers should fail to persuade the Spaniards to consent to the terms before the end of May, and that it become necessary to use *more effectual means*† to that purpose," the French shall not "move or introduce their arms into the Low Countries;" but the English and the Dutch shall make such necessary provision as shall oblige the Spaniards to accept the conditions.

* This recital is not entirely correct. The offer had been made by Louis, at the instigation of the Dutch; but England had no part in the transaction. — See D'Estrades, vi. 31. 37. 42.

† This is the expression modified by Temple; see *ante*, p. 169.

5. When peace is made, England and the Dutch, and all princes who may think themselves interested, shall be guarantees and conservators of it.

This was the public treaty; but there were also three separate, and for some time, *secret*, articles.

By the first of these it was agreed that "the point of the renunciation," that is, the renunciation by Louis of the rights derived from his marriage, should be omitted, or so managed, as to leave no advantage to France or Spain; but if either of the kings should reject this expedient, the allies should proceed against the refuser, as in the third and fourth articles preceding, and the third of these separate articles.

2. England and Holland are to endeavour to bring about a peace between Spain and Portugal. The failure of this endeavour shall not prevent a peace between France and Spain, but France may continue to assist Portugal; and should Spain refuse to make peace with Portugal, and also with France, with liberty to assist Portugal, the allies "shall be bound to employ themselves effectually to procure the consent of Spain." In no case, however, is the King of France to make war on the Low Countries.

3. In case the King of France should refuse to promise to make peace upon the terms stipulated, or should reject the provisions made against his invading the Low Countries, *and also if he should endeavour by any subterfuges, or indirect practices, to hinder or elude the conclusion of the peace,* then England and the United Netherlands shall be

bound and obliged to join themselves to the King of Spain, and *with all their united force and power to make war against France;* and in this case, they were not only to compel him to make peace upon the terms before mentioned, *but to restore matters to their condition at the peace of the Pyrenees;* in other words, to give up his late conquests in the Netherlands, without equivalent.

The policy of the Triple Alliance, and Temple's ability in concluding it, have been favourite themes of praise from generation to generation. It is not surprising that in this inquiring age, a suspicion has arisen, that this praise has been somewhat exaggerated. If the more complete information which we now have of the circumstances of this transaction, detract something from the importance of the treaty, it leaves much to illustrate the merits of the negotiation.

The wisdom of the treaty has been lauded by a contemporary, who had no prejudice in favour of Sir William Temple.

Burnet styles it, "the master-piece of Charles's life." —"If he had stuck to it," he says, "it would have been both the strength and the glory of his reign. It disposed his people to forgive all that was passed, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war." * Burnet has been followed by Rapin†, Hume‡, Kennett§, Russell‖, Koch ¶, and others.

* Burnet's Own Times, i. 440.
‡ Vol. vii. 473.
‖ Mod. Eur. iv. 29.
† Vol. ii. 650.
§ Vol. iii. 270.
¶ Hist. des Traités, i. 334.

On the other hand, a modern historian of much diligence and acuteness * has derogated from the merit which has been imputed to this treaty. It compelled Louis, he says, to nothing, which for other reasons he was not prepared to do: and the intelligent author of "*Considérations sur Louis XIV.*" says, "that nothing is less true than that the Triple Alliance arrested the French King in the midst of his conquests, or compelled him to conclude the peace with Spain.†

It is quite true, as we have seen, that the French King himself had offered to Spain the terms enforced by the Triple Alliance; and he had expressed a wish that England should concur with the States-General, in obliging the Spaniards to accept them.‡ And the terms themselves were more favour-

* Lingard's Hist. of England, 8vo, xii. 190. Ralph, who, though a man of loose principles, was an acute observer, speaks rather more disparagingly than others of the Triple Alliance. He says, it was "of the expedient kind, which staunched the blood, but did not heal the wound." He allows, however, that it fully obtained the popularity for the sake of which it was made. (iii. 168.) Bolingbroke, not unjustly, calls the arrangement, as between France and Spain, "a composition between the bully and the bullied;" but "its principles," nevertheless, "were just, and wise, and worthy of a king of England." (Letters on History, vii. 228.) A late French author says, that the English ministry, which he correctly designates as intermediate between Clarendon and the Cabal, adopted the policy of keeping the nation in continual apprehension of war, and thus obtaining supplies: this treaty, which saved Flanders by opposing the mediation of England, Holland, and Sweden to the young and victorious Louis, was negotiated by Temple with views entirely patriotic, though its real object was to obtain money. (Histoire de la Contre-révolution d'Angleterre sous Charles II. et Jacques II., par Armand Carrel, p. 127.) Koch says, that Temple succeeded in detaching De Witt from the interests of France; and that the third secret article was the cause of the rupture between Holland and France.

† Prefixed to Louis's Works, i. 133.

‡ Louis XIV. to D'Estrades, Jan. 27. 1668. Œuvres, v. 421.; and D'Estrades, vi. 253.

able to French ambition, more injurious to the rights of Spain, and more hurtful to the interests of Holland, than an English statesman could desire. This was apparently the opinion of Temple, when he objected to the first proposition of De Witt, as inconsistent with honour and security.

But the Triple Alliance, as effected by Temple, was really a very different affair from that which had been contemplated by Louis, or suggested by De Witt. The terms of peace were the same, but there the similarity ended. According to that suggestion, England was to co-operate with Holland in obtaining the object of France. England, Holland, and France, were to be engaged in a triple league against Spain.

Now the treaty brought about by Temple included, first, a close union of interests, and even affections, between England and Holland; secondly, stipulations directed with peculiar force against France, and expressed in terms unfriendly and offensive, while the necessity of using compulsion towards Spain was recognised in expressions studiously modified; a case of *trickery* on the part of France was supposed, which was to bring against her the whole force of the confederates; and France was even, thirdly, precluded from enforcing the very terms which were sanctioned by the allies, in case of Spain's refusal to accept them.

These circumstances gave a new character to the transaction; it broke instead of strengthening the union between France and Holland, and wounded

Louis with the weapon which himself had forged.*

This new character the transaction obtained, mainly through the personal exertions of Sir William Temple.

It may be true, that before he settled his terms with the Dutch, Louis was apprehensive of an union between Holland and England. Without that apprehension, perhaps, he would not have been persuaded by De Witt to offer terms comparatively moderate; but neither would the Dutch have kept him to his word, without a cordial union with England. If the eventual treaty with the Emperor contributed much to the peace, we have the authority of its historian for saying, that the union between the English and Dutch contributed still more.†

That union, still more its cordiality, was eminently the work of Temple; whose merit lies not so much in the terms of the treaty, as in the good management whereby he brought the Dutch into an agreement with England, after an estrangement occasioned by a series of mutual injuries, and jealousies not ill founded. He did not persuade the Dutch ministers into anything, which, as Dutch ministers, they deemed objectionable, — success of that sort, indeed, is seldom fortunate,—but he did induce them to take upon themselves a serious responsibility towards their masters, in signing the

* Flassan says, that the alliance was, in reality, directed against France alone. — Dipl. Française, iii. 551.

† M. de St. Pret, Chef du depôt des affaires étrangères. — Louis, vi. 418.

league without instructions from the provinces; and he carried an important point for the interest of England, in connecting that league with the defensive alliance; without which, the league would have done little more than accomplish the object of France: nor was it a slight matter to do all this, in spite of the habitual slowness of the Dutch, within a period too short to allow of French intrigues; and thus to counteract such diplomatists as Ruvigni and D'Estrades. His own reputation for honesty enabled him to persuade De Witt of the sincerity of the reasonably distrusted court of England, without which persuasion, co-operation would have been vain.

That the happy conclusion of this alliance was to be attributed to the personal character of Sir William Temple, has been the belief of all historians, English and foreign. His merits have been equally acknowledged by contemporaries, and by the writers of modern times*: the historian of French diplomacy, in commending the rapidity of Temple's proceedings, cites it as his maxim, that *in politics one must always speak the truth.* †

De Witt himself wrote thus to Lord Arlington: "As it was impossible to send a minister of

* Burke says, "It is true that mutual confidence and common interest dispense with all rules, smooth the rugged way, remove every obstacle, and make all things plain and level. When in the last century, Temple and De Witt negotiated the famous Triple Alliance, their candour, their freedom, and the most confidential disclosures, were the result of true policy. Accordingly, in spite of all the dilatory forms of the complex government of the United Provinces, the treaty was concluded in three days."—Regicide Peace. Works, viii 333.

† Flassan, ii. 353. This writer erroneously describes Temple as having been, for two years, the minister of Charles II.

greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple, so I believe no other person can or will more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the States to answer the good intentions of the King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought not to be less satisfied with the readiness wherewith the States have passed over to the concluding and signing of those treaties for which he came hither, than they are with his conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing, in the whole course of the negotiation. It appears, my Lord, that you thoroughly understand men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his means your lordship hath been pleased to give me a new testimony of your good-will." *

And the States-General tell the King, that, "as it is a thing without example, that in so few days three such important treaties have been concluded, so we can say, that the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity of this minister, are also without example. We are extremely obliged to your Majesty that you are pleased to make use of an instrument so proper for confirming this strict amity and good intelligence, which the treaty at Breda had so happily begun." †

Temple could not but be aware of the credit

* Feb. 14. 1668, i. 343. † Feb. 18., i. 342.

which he obtained: the following passage in a letter to M. Gourville * contains sentiments perfectly just, whether as applicable to his own case, or to political affairs in general. What he says of his own way of dealing is equally true with the rest; though it may perhaps be one of those passages which have drawn upon the writer the charge of egotism:—"They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed, in five days, a treaty of such importance to Christendom; but I will tell you the secret of it: to draw things out of the centre requires labour and address to put them in motion; but, to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a-going. Now, I think, a strict alliance is the true centre of our two nations. There was also another accident, which contributed very much to this affair, and that was, a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me; he is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere open way of dealing; and I, with all the reason in the world, am infinitely pleased with him upon the same score; and look on him as one of the greatest geniuses I have known, as a man of honour, and the most easy in conversation, as well as in business."†

The Frenchman says, in reply, "All your modest reasoning will not hinder me from believing that

* Gourville had been the valet-de-chambre, and became, afterwards, the confidential friend, of the Duke of Rochefoucault, through whom he obtained the patronage of "the great Condé." He was employed as a diplomatic agent by the minister Lionne. Temple appears to have carried on, at this time, a familiar correspondence with him. He published his memoirs, but does not therein mention Temple.

† P. 325.

any other minister the King of England could have sent to the Hague, would not have finished in many months what you have done in four days." *

If this Gourville is to be implicitly believed, the Triple Alliance was his own work! He tells a strange story † of "a treacherous French intrigue," as Dalrymple ‡ styles it, originating in a suggestion from himself to Lord Holles. The King of England was to flatter De Witt into confidence, and thus detach him from France; losing the support of France, De Witt was to fall an easy prey to the Orange faction; and thus Charles was to avenge himself upon the Pensionary, whom he hated. Macpherson § relates this story as if he believed it. Among other points of improbability, it may be observed, that Gourville takes credit with Lionne, the French minister, for this plot, which, according to Macpherson's version of it, was to substitute English for French ascendancy in Holland.

Temple was partial to his mechanical metaphor; for he uses the same in writing to Lord Halifax. ‖ In addressing this nobleman, with whom he was on intimate terms, he proceeds thus:—"For what you mention of reward, I know not how it came into your head, but I am sure it never entered into

* P. 463. † Mémoires, ii. 13. and 64. ‡ I. 37.
§ I. 4to. p. 107.
‖ Sir George Savile, Bart., created Lord Halifax in 1667, afterwards Viscount and Marquis; a distinguished performer in the Revolution. He was a *trimmer*, or *waverer*; though Dryden says that (as Jotham, in Absalom and Achitophel, ix. 243. and 305.,) he

"——— but only tried
The worst awhile, then chose the better side."

See much about his wit and conceit in Burnet, i. 464.

mine, nor, I dare say, into any body's else. I will confess to you, that, considering the approbation and good opinion which his Majesty and some considerable enough about him, have been abused into by my good fortune in this business, I think a wiser man might possibly make some benefit of it; and some of my friends have advised me to attempt it; but it is in vain; for I know not how to ask, nor why; and this is not an age where any thing is given without it. And by that time you see me next, you shall find all this, which was so much in talk to my advantage for nine days, as much forgotten as if it had never been; and very justly, I think; for in that time it received a great deal more than its due, from many other hands as well as from yours." *

The thanks which Temple received from his own government were less warm than those which he received from others: — "I cannot end this letter without letting you know how his Majesty has charged me with giving you thanks for the good service you have rendered him in this occasion †;" but historians tell us that the treaty, when brought to London by Mr. Henry Temple, was received with great demonstrations of joy‡ among the people, whose feelings were then much in favour of the Dutch, and hostile to the French King and nation. The transaction was equally popular at the Hague. §

* March 2. 1668, i. 374. † Jan. 23. 1668. Arl. 199.
‡ Boyer, 33.
§ "It is hardly imaginable, the joy and wonder conceived here." Temple to Ormond.—Bodleian.

It would not be unreasonable to ascribe to his backwardness in solicitation the small share of honours which Sir William Temple received from his royal masters; certainly disproportionate to those which others received, who served the Crown in civil stations. But the transaction which he describes as a nine days' wonder, still ranks in history among the greatest of diplomatic achievements; and the name of Temple is compensated in posthumous fame for the nobility which was denied to its illustrious bearer.

CHAPTER IX.

RECEPTION OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE BY FRANCE AND SPAIN.—FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.—MARITIME QUESTIONS.—PARLIAMENT.—TEMPLE MENTIONED AS SECRETARY OF STATE.—APPOINTED AMBASSADOR AT AIX.—CHARLES'S COMMUNICATIONS WITH LOUIS.—PEACE OF AIX.

1668.

THE treaty was now to be communicated to the representatives of France and Spain. Its reception by the former strengthens what has been said of the character of the proceeding.

If Temple was rightly informed, D'Estrades had relied upon the forms of the Dutch constitution for delaying the treaty:—"*Eh bien! D'ici à six semaines nous en parlerons.*" "Upon our giving him part," writes Temple, "of the whole business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end; that the fourth article (whereby his master was restrained from war, even in the case of Spain's rejection of the terms,) was not in terms very proper to be digested by a king of twenty-nine years old, and at the head of eighty thousand men; that if we had joined both to desire his master to prolong the offer he had made of a cessation of arms till the time we proposed, and withal not to move his arms further

in Flanders, though Spain should refuse, we might hope to succeed; but if we thought to prescribe him laws, and force him to compliance by leagues between ourselves, or with Spain, though Sweden and the German princes should join with us, he knew his master *ne flécheroit pas*, and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceedings of the States, saying, they knew his master's resolutions upon those two points, *neither to prolong the cessation proposed beyond the end of March, nor to desist the pursuit of his conquests with his own arms, in case Spain consented not to his demands within that term.* He said, his Majesty, not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their offence; but for the States, who were their nearest ally, to conclude so much to his master's *disrespect* at least, and without communicating with him (the ambassador) at all during the whole treaty, he must leave it to his master to interpret as he thought fit."*

Of the same tendency was the language of D'Estrades, in a long discourse which Temple himself had with him; wherein "the manner and the *déshonnêteté*" of the Dutch proceeding were severely handled. "For us," he says, "his master can take nothing ill, because all he desired was but our neutrality, and to keep us from a defensive league with Spain. But, *by hands that hear it from some of his family, I hear they resent his Majesty's part in it enough too.*" Temple, ignorant of the reasons which Louis had to set at nought the public

* I. 305, 306.

feeling of England, "wondered that the French King or his ministers should expect nothing of this kind, when there was not a shopboy in England or Holland that did not know, and say upon occasion, it was neither of our interest to let Flanders fall into the French hands, nor to let the power of France grow to that excess, that those princes or states who had hitherto treated with them upon equal terms, should be forced to do it hereafter with their hats in their hands. For the manner of it, on our side, and the Dutch, I told him, ceremony was used only when men are secure and at leisure, but always forgotten (and indeed not expected) in haste or danger. Whether this be the way I ought to treat this matter, it were fit I knew your lordship's opinion; till then, I use it as the most natural to me, because the true, and likely to be believed. However, I always say, that if the French mean what they say, and will have peace, his Majesty offers it, and has no other design; but if they will have war, they may have enough of it."*

This important despatch concluded with a passage, in which may be traced the gaiety of Temple's disposition, from which, on this occasion, great success, and some flattery, had driven away the spleen:—"I am engaged to spend this evening at M. De Witt's, with the Prince of Orange (whom I have seen only once upon my return), where we are all to play the young men, and be as merry as cards and eating and dancing can make us; for I do not think drinking will have any great share. The

* Feb. 3. Sel. Lett. p. 14, 15.

next day, M. De Witt is at leisure to have a match at tennis, where I hope to acquit myself better than to-night, if I have not forgot all the abilities I ever had.

"Your lordship sees what a worthy minister you have helped his Majesty to, that spends his time and his master's money at this rate; and therefore the best thing you can do is, to hasten the ratification, that I may be gone to Brussels, and grow into some order again, and persuade the Marquis to some more in the conduct of the peace than he has yet shewed in that of the war. We are here afraid of nothing but some brusque answer from him to disconcert our whole affair; though we have omitted no cares to prevent it." *

History has condescended to notice the entertainment to which this letter refers, but she is silent as to the part which Temple bore in it. We know not whether his neglected abilities were revived at the card-table or at supper, but in the dance he was outdone. The Grand Pensionary himself, older than Temple, and Dutchman as he was, is recorded as having "danced the best of any man in the room."† We are not told, whether this masterly performance was enacted by the great statesman as a *cavalier seul*, or whether Temple, Dhona, and De Witt celebrated the Triple Alliance in a *pas de trois*.

But De Witt practised other arts than those which he learnt from his dancing-master. The princes of the house of Nassau were invited, as

* Sel. Lett. p. 10. Feb. 3. 1667-8.
† Campbell's Mem. of De Witt, lx. He was now forty-three years old.

well as the English minister, to shew that the Triple Alliance had occasioned a union of parties; and De Witt's attentions to the Prince of Orange were such as to obtain from him the warmest expressions of gratitude.

We know better than Temple knew, not only how Louis interpreted these proceedings at the Hague, but how D'Estrades himself viewed and reported them. His letters clearly shew, that although he felt it his duty to protest against the treaty, and thought that it made use of expressions too strong towards his master, and too mild towards Spain, he did not consider French interests greatly affected by it; and that he was pretty well satisfied with De Witt's allegation of the impossibility of obtaining the concurrence of England, and of the dissenting provinces, in more favourable terms.* M. de Lionne, who at first regarded the story of the treaty as a *rodomontade espagnole*, and received D'Estrades' accounts as "great, sudden, and unexpected novelties," yet acknowledged that, in his private opinion, "*the principal foundation of the treaty was advantageous to his master, the manner not agreeable.*†

But at this time the *secret* and most offensive articles had not been made known to the French government: it was agreed, probably at the sug-

* D'Estrades, Jan. 26., vi. 248. Friesland, Groningen, and Utrecht were unwilling to leave so much of Flanders to France; but the former two afterwards came into the views of Temple. D'Estrades says that he obtained, *by money*, a change of sentiment in Holland, which province had not originally gone with its Grand Pensionary.

† Feb. 3., vi. 263. See also Gourville, in Temple, i. 464.

gestion of De Witt, to withhold them, until the conduct of France might make it necessary to enforce them *; and though D'Estrades was too expert a diplomatist not to obtain them by other means, the omission was justly felt as a fresh proof of the decline of French influence in Holland. Still, though De Witt's excuses were thought very lame†, he and D'Estrades were mutually unwilling to quarrel; nor was their friendly intercourse interrupted: and the States General represented the Triple Alliance to Louis as a measure tending to carry into effect his avowed wishes. ‡ But while Holland thus attempted to conceal, and France affected to overlook, the offence committed in the dealings with England, the breach of friendship was in truth irreparable; and Louis, shame to England! had ultimately his revenge.§

The French monarch had not, even now, relied upon negotiation solely; and, a few days before the conclusion of the treaty, he announced || to the States General an intention, which he executed, of invading and occupying Franche Comté, one of the countries which Spain was to cede to him as part of the *alternative* for the conquests of the last campaign. The success of this expedition furnished an additional proof of the helplessness of Spain.

While Temple remained at the Hague, he was called upon to redeem the pledge, by which he

* Temple, Feb. 17.
† De Lionne, Feb. 24. D'Estrades, vi. 291.
‡ Jan. 26. D'Estrades, vi. 246.
§ In 1672.
|| Jan. 22., p. 239.

had overcome the scruples of the States' deputies, in respect of the commercial stipulations.

But, owing to a strange accident, he had some difficulty in ascertaining the King's pleasure. A despatch arrived, in a cypher which he could not translate. "I have received two long despatches from your lordship, of the 18th *, by several hands, and except it were about five or six lines out of cypher in them, am not one word the wiser for them both, and know no help in the world for it. If I am such a dunce, (and people will not believe it,) all I can say is, that Sir Samuel Moreland † was practising upon me but one half-hour at most for it before I came away. . . . The next entertainment I had was such a storm as for three hours made all the mariners forget their meat and their drink; and after my landing, I may be allowed to say, I had, for ten days at least, as hard a pinch of business as perhaps ever fell to a idle man's share, and which might be excused for taking up all my thoughts, especially being subject to the interruption of a hundred necessary ceremonies besides. If this will not serve to excuse my senselessness in this point, I know not what more to say, unless it be that God Almighty has given it to other men to make cyphers and to fly; but to me, only to walk upon plain ground, and to read plain hands, or plain cyphers at most. But, let my fault be what it will, I am sure I have done penance

* January or February, 1668.

† Probably a clerk in the secretary's office, charged with the cyphers.

enough for it, and spent four or six such hours about it, that I had rather spend at any time in the coal mines, especially ending them without the least success, which is the relief of all cares and pains." * What chiefly troubled Temple was, the apprehension that De Witt might suspect him of a diplomatic trick:—"He would not believe I could fail, at least with pains, and desired me to go about it, saying, he was impatient to know his Majesty's answer about inserting the provisional articles, which could only be known by this despatch, since my next would bear date after the arrival of the treaty in England; and thereupon put me in mind of keeping my promise with them, which I assured him of. I went home, and after six hours spent in vain, returned to him at ten that night, and told him I came to lose all the credit I had gained with him, by telling him a thing I knew very well he had no reason to believe, what was, that they should send me letters from Court at this time in a cypher I was able to make not one word of; and so told him my story. He was a little grave at first, but soon smiled, and told me that I had gained greater credit with him and the States than I could lose by a greater matter than this, and said, perhaps he could help me in it, being as much versed in cypher as another man. I very frankly pulled out my letter, and my key, and my paper with the rules, and upon it we fell to work together for two hours, and all to as much purpose as picking

* Feb. 3. 1668. Sel. Lett. p. 10.

straws, and so we gave it over; but without the least ill-humour, or distrust in him; only saying, things without remedies must pass, and we must stay till my next letters come; upon which he would believe I would tell him the King's answer in that point as clearly as if I had seen it now. I assured him of it, though I confessed there might be a way to evade it, and told him I would end with him as I had begun; that his Majesty had enough to employ in business that required address, and would, I was sure, employ me in none but where plainness and truth were the qualities necessary. In this manner I passed over an ill step, which might have been of ill consequence to me in my whole journey; for I must attribute the strange success of my negotiation to no ability, but merely to the confidence between M. De Witt and me, which made him tell the Spanish ambassador, and the Marquis's envoy, that he did not believe the King could have employed another man in his kingdoms, who could have brought this business to such an issue, and so sudden."

Arlington's despatch still remains as much a mystery to us, as it was at first to Temple himself; but, it appears that the English Government questioned the obligatory nature of Temple's undertaking, and was willing to be rid of it. Upon a point of this sort, Temple was entirely free from courtly complaisance; and, when the orders were intelligible, answered them with the plainness of which he justly, if not becomingly, boasted.

"To that part of your last," he replied, "which

concerned the provisional articles, I thought fit to return an answer by the same conveyance I received it. As to the degree my word was given, I thought I had satisfied your lordship, that it was as obligative as it could be, and the more because they trusted me so far, as upon it to promote the despatch I desired even beyond all example, and over all the common forms of their government; so that, having by your lordship's last received notice what his Majesty's pleasure was in those two of cypher, which I could not understand, I find myself obliged *en homme de bien* (which were the words in which they engaged me) to acquaint M. de Witt with what I hear from you on that subject, and, *if they will positively insist upon it, to sign a treaty for perpetuating those articles,* mutatis mutandis." . . . . . "I shall not fail, *after I have acquitted myself of my word,* to endeavour all that I can to persuade them into so much compliance as to let it run his Majesty's way; if not, I shall value his Majesty's compliance with them in this point as far as I can possible, and think of some other way in which they may return it in something more material; for I cannot imagine that this costs his Majesty any thing at all, since I do not find that we quit thereby any part of our ancient pretensions to the dominion of the narrow seas, which was my first suspicion, nor grant more than France and Spain have done already; nor than Cromwell (who carried his matters high enough) did to the Swedes; nor more than is reciprocal between us."*

* Feb. 10.

The stipulation, of which Temple now entertained a just notion, but which has in our time also been misunderstood, was, "*free ships, free goods.*" Such is the familiar way of expressing the rule, that where a *ship* is free to trade, there shall be (except in the case of warlike articles) no question about her *cargo.** Even American jurists admit, that the law of nations has no such rule; but all maritime nations, when neutral, have contended for it, and some states in the seventeenth century, many more recently, have established it by mutual stipulation. It is favourable or not to a particular nation, just as it is more likely to be neutral or belligerent. It has no connection whatever with the peculiar "maritime rights" claimed by England (of which we shall hear presently); its obligation, as Temple now saw, is reciprocal between those who adopt it; its operation necessarily doubtful. Cromwell thought it worth while to contract for it with the Swedes, as well as the Dutch. As the Dutch look for their glory to trade and navigation, rather than to war, they have always been tenacious of the rule.

Having obtained from his government a reluctant consent, accompanied by a stipulation for the meeting of commissioners, to discuss all unsettled points, "I made," says Temple, "his Majesty's concession easy for these two ends, that either they, finding his Majesty indifferent in it, might grow so too, — men being commonly apt to pull the

* Thus the ship of a friend protects the goods of an enemy. If France and England are at war, and Holland neutral, a Dutch ship may carry French property to any port to which she may trade.

harder, the faster another holds; or else, if they resolved to insist upon it (since I am already engaged), to value a thing which costs his Majesty nothing for as much obligation as I could to the States, which might make way for some material return upon another occasion. M. de Witt seemed very much pleased with his Majesty's compliance with them in this point;" and the thing was done. "I confess," adds Temple, "I am troubled that it could not be otherwise, because your lordship says, his Majesty would rather have had it so. . . . . I think it would have been worse in leaving a dissatisfaction between us, which is now avoided; and I find my lord keeper, in a letter to me, seems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you put a great deal upon any person's employed by his Majesty being, and passing for, *an honest man.*" *

It was on this occasion that, writing to the lord keeper (who had not been averse to the commercial arrangement adopted), Temple used these expressions, by no means justifying the imputation brought against him on the part of Lord Arlington †: — "I dare say very truly, that the general opinion conceived here of your lordship's and Lord Arlington's honour and sincerity, and unbiassed pursuit of the true interest of the kingdom, has very much contributed to the success of my late negotiation; and been indeed the spring of

* Feb. 12., i. 332. Temple signed the provisional treaty of commerce on the 17th of February, 1668. — Dumont, viii. part ii. p. 74.

† In the preface to the collection of Lord Arlington's letters.

any honour that your lordship, or any others, may attribute to me in the conduct of it."*

In the same strain, he says to Lord Arlington: —"The satisfaction wherewith this conclusion is received in England, has added very much to that here, at least if there were any room left for increase. My own, I am sure, cannot be greater, since your lordship tells me that I have had the good fortune to please both the King and the kingdom; though I must be so just as to give all to your lordship that can be due to me in this transaction, who, I am sure, must have answered for my faults, if they had happened to be greater than for this once they have proved."†

The redemption of his pledge completed the work of conciliation; the Dutch and English acted from this time cordially together. Van Beuninghen ‡, attached to the principles of the Triple Alliance, was sent to Paris, in order to perfect the arrangements; and although the French ministers looked to the negotiation with him for correcting what they deemed the faults of the treaty, his instructions recognised, in every paragraph, the entire concert between the two countries: they were indeed concerted with Temple, who was permitted to add a passage, restraining the Dutch minister from negotiating with France, until the treaties with England were ratified.

* P. 334. † Feb. 20. 1668.

‡ He was a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and had been employed at Copenhagen and Stockholm. Wicquefort speaks of him very favourably. — Book ii. c. 17. He was inclined to the house of Orange.

Yet, it may be observed, (and the observation is necessary for appreciating the exceeding difficulty of Temple's task in gaining Holland from France,) that the Dutch minister's instructions contemplated one modification of the terms of the treaty favourable to France. We have seen that, while there was a specific stipulation for obliging Louis to adhere to his offers, there was none for forcing Spain to accept them. Van Beuninghen was authorised to supply the omission.* This fact may shew, that the apprehension of a rupture with France had still some effect upon Dutch diplomacy, and, indeed, upon the English counsels also; for Arlington recognised the propriety of the instructions."†

Sir W. Temple, having now despatched all his business with the States, prepared to leave the Hague, where D'Estrades became very impatient of his presence.‡

At his audience of leave, he addressed the States General in a judicious and appropriate speech§, of which the prevailing topic was the candour, sincerity, and open heart, which had been displayed on both sides.

* See his instructions, art. 4. & 5. Arl. 205., and D'Estrades, vi. 249.

† "When you are with him, you must remember to prepare him not to find it strange, if, in our project at Paris, the terms are made reciprocal, when we threaten alike that king that shall refuse the peace." (Arl. 210. Feb. 14.) The Dutch would not allow the affair to be called "a mediation," because they say, that seems to import a neutrality, whereas, upon the failing of our offers towards a peace, we are to take our parts in a war. (Feb. 12. i. 329.) As the term *mediation* had been used by Louis, this objection to it must be deemed unfavourable to France.

‡ VI. 286.

§ Temple, i. 340. The compliments paid to him by the States and De Witt have been noticed. See p. 178, 179.

With the Dutch minister personally, Temple parted on the best of terms:—"I acquainted M. De Witt with that clause in one of your letters *, commanding me to settle a perfect correspondence with him before I parted; upon which he took me by the hand, and bid me assure your lordship that was done already, and between the nations too, and that nothing should occur on his side to weaken it; but that he will give me in particular the advice of it before any resolutions should be taken upon it, if I were within their reach."†

These communications serve to prove how far Temple had accomplished the one great object of recovering the lost friendship of the Dutch government. It cannot be concealed, that in effecting this object, he had consented to give too much to France, at the expense of Spain. Yet neither of the two powers was easily brought to conclude the peace.

The Spaniards had hitherto taken no step favourable to the objects of the Triple Alliance; and some symptoms of impatience now appeared in the French King. These are probably to be ascribed rather to *pique* than to policy. It was natural in a man of less importance and pride than the *Grand Monarque*, to feel hurt at being forced, even into his own terms. He was therefore reluctant to concede them, except within the period which he had himself offered ‡: having now, by the conquest of Franche Comté, improved his position, he evinced some inclination to require more from the Spa-

* Jan. 23. Arl. 198.
† Feb. 21. Sel. Let. 16.
‡ The end of March.

niards. "The King," says his minister, "is not of a humour to suffer himself to be shaved against the grain by any person whomsoever. His intentions are good, firm, and constant for peace; the conditions which he demands are moderate; *every thing turns on their being accepted within the period,* or that, the Spaniards refusing them, the League should enforce them without loss of time." * He suspected, however, the sincerity of England. "It is certain that England would be very willing to see a continuance of the war between France and Spain, provided that she takes no part; and her reasons are easily perceived; but if she must enter into the brawl, and dance like the rest of us, I apprehend that she would rather that we should make it up between us." † "I would have answered with my head," he says in another letter ‡, "that peace would infallibly have been made upon one of the two alternatives, if the league of the Hague had never been made; but that this league having given an appearance to the world, from which it might be supposed that all that the King had only done of his own mere motion, and *to acquire the glory of moderation, which is now the only glory which remains to be acquired by him,* he would now do as if compelled by fear of the League: that appears to me so hard for a prince of the humour of the King, who prefers his reputation to every other consideration, that I know not what more to say of it." §

* M. de Lionne to D'Estrades, Feb. 24., vi. 291.
† Lionne, Feb. 24., vi. 290. ‡ March 2., p. 330. § P. 304.

These feelings induced Louis to demur to the continuation of the truce, and to allege that the delay of the Spaniards had exonerated him from his promises.

At the same time, the instructions which Temple received from his court, shew that Charles was ill prepared to follow up vigorously the counsels which he had adopted:—"Having exchanged the ratifications of our treaties in the Hague, and performed all offices else to establish a good and entire correspondence betwixt us and the States General, *and especially with M. de Witt*, you shall transport yourself with all convenient speed to the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo, and *endear*, as far as you can, *to him the part we have had in bringing the States General to these last resolutions, so favourable to the affairs of Spain;* and enjoining him to all possible facility on his part in the accomplishing those points, which are the foundation of our union, and the only human means left to preserve to our good brother the Catholic King the dominion of his countries." So far good; but it was added, "*We must expect from him the means of effecting it*," (that is, the setting out a fleet of sixty capital ships) which cannot be done without the speedy supply of 4 or 500,000*l.*" This money, it was suggested, might be taken from a loan which the States would furnish to Spain upon the security of some towns in Flanders. The remainder of the instructions all turned upon the necessity of Spain enabling us, by her money, to assist her by sea or land.*

* Jan. 24. 1668. Arl. 201.

Before Temple acted upon these instructions, the reception with which the Triple Alliance met in Parliament had shewn how difficult it would be for England to take a more warlike course. Charles had acquainted the Parliament * with the treaties: instead of thanking him, and offering their support in effecting the object of his new counsels, the Commons occupied themselves chiefly with the miscarriages of the late war.

At this time there appear to have been some talk of Temple's becoming Secretary of State; at least, the hint was thrown out by Sir Orlando Bridgeman. On this, Temple says, "For the obliging message my brother brought me, likewise from your lordship's favour to me, besides my acknowledgment, I shall only say, that what your lordship is pleased to mention would be as agreeable to my inclinations as any thing I know; but I shall never presume to ask any thing of that kind from his Majesty, no more than of any other; referring my station

* The Houses, after the adjournment (p. 133.), met again on Feb. 10. 1667-8, when the King thus addressed them:—"My Lords and Gentelmen, I am glad to see you here again, to tell you what I have done in this interval, which I am confident you will be pleased with, because it is so much for the honour and security of this nation. I have made a league defensive with the States General of the United Provinces, and likewise a league for an efficacious mediation of peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, into which league that of Sweden, by its ambassador, had offered to enter as a principal. I did not, at our last meeting, move you for any aid, though I lie under great debts, contracted in the last war: but now, the posture of our neighbours abroad, and the consequence of the new alliance, will oblige me, for our security, to set out a considerable fleet to sea this summer; and because I must build more great ships; and it is as necessary that I do something in order to the fortifying some of our forts. I have begun something myself in order to those ends, but if I have not your speedy assistance, I shall not be able to go through with it." — Parl. Hist. iv. 404.

and every thing else wholly to his pleasure and choice, while I have the honour to serve him." He says, however, that common talk designed him for the negotiation of Aix:—"Believing that, having so much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have some part in that too; and I confess, because people are fallen into this thought, I may take the contrary for a mark of his Majesty's not being satisfied with me in what is passed; and because I am in advance instructed in the business, and acquainted with persons, I should be very well pleased with it, if his Majesty finds none to serve him better; especially, if by the Marquis's going thither himself, his Majesty should find it fit to send a person of great quality to *maintain the port of the employment, and give me my part under his shade.* I am ashamed to have said all this of myself and my concernments, and beseech your lordship to remember, that you have drawn it all from me, and after that, to forget it all, if you please. For, to say the truth, I am very well as I am, being of so dull a complexion, that I do not remember any station or condition of life I have been in these dozen years which I have not been pleased with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what thoughts of this kind your lordship may have of me, I desire you will be pleased to communicate them to my Lord Arlington, to whose favour I have been long obliged; and whatever your two lordships shall think in my disposal, will be ever perfectly welcome to me.*

* Feb. 12. 1668, i. 336.

The English government thought him equally fit to maintain the port, or to perform the business, of a mediatorial ambassador; he was destined without hesitation for Aix*: but some preliminary points were first to be settled at Brussels.

On his way to that city, he met the Marquis at Antwerp, and exerted all his diplomacy towards "endearing" to the Spaniard the measures of the allies, without heeding that part of his instructions which required pecuniary sacrifices from Spain herself. He found the Spanish governor very well pleased at the union between England and Holland, but desirous that it should produce a joint war. Temple assured him, that neither the English nor the Dutch had any disposition to enter into the quarrel, "provided they were not alarmed too much and too near with the growth of the French greatness." The Marquis, however, persisted in demanding that the concert between the allies for the assistance to be given to Spain, should precede his acceptance of the alternative; but De Witt, to whom Temple reported his conference, saw in this only the plan of the Spaniards for committing the English and Dutch irretrievably to the war, and exasperating still further Louis's jealousy of dictation.† He therefore positively declined the previous concert, and was warmly supported by Lord Arlington‡ in urging Temple to procure the assent of the Marquis, and to hasten the conclusion of peace.

* Arlington, March 13., p. 247.
† Letter of Feb. 24. in Arl. 228.
‡ Feb. 21., p. 226.

"I told him," says Temple, in a full and confidential report to De Witt, "that, for the two points of the renunciation and the equivalent *, he might reckon, from our joint offices, upon all we could obtain from France in favour of Spain. For, as to the equivalent, our own interest obliged us to it, that we might have so much stronger a barrier between France and Holland; and as for the renunciation, we desired it too, but do not conceive it a thing upon which Spain ought to be too stiff, since our guaranty was the only strong and solid remuneration that could be made upon this occasion; and for the assurance he desired of being assisted, in case of a refusal from France, I did not doubt but he had heard at least the substance of our secret articles to that purpose." These articles he presently read to him, to inform him "of our mutual obligations, as well as our intentions, not only to assist Spain in case of a refusal from France, but *to engage ourselves in the quarrel, by an open war with all our forces against that crown.*" †

He had no great difficulty in obtaining the Marquis's acceptance of the suspension of arms till the end of March, as proposed by Louis, or of its prolongation through May, as suggested by the allies.‡

* In a previous conference, the Marquis had urged the necessity of "persuading France to take an equivalent for *a part* of the conquests, viz. for Tournay, Courtray, Oudenarde, and other small places, which advance themselves so far into the country that they even block up the gates of Brussels." The terms proposed were, that an equivalent should be given by Spain for all the French conquests.—Temple to De Witt, Feb. 24, in Arl. 228.

† Letter to De Witt, Feb. 27. Temple, i. 366.

‡ To Lord Arlington, Feb. 27. Temple, p. 363.; and to De Witt, Feb. 24. Arl. 228.

But it was not easy, especially now that Spain had ceased to be at war with Portugal*, to persuade the Marquis (whom he soon followed to Brussels) to accept the terms of peace; they were indeed injurious and oppressive; and it was not unnatural that he should hesitate at accepting the terms of the alliance, until he should be assured of the effectual co-operation of the allies in enforcing them. Temple, on the other hand, would say nothing about "the concert of forces," until assured of the acceptance of the alternative. He soon gained ground with the Marquis, which the Dutch deputies could not acquire; his exertions were acknowledged† by Arlington and by De Witt, and he finally succeeded in obtaining the Marquis's acquiescence in the treaty.‡

"It seems plain to me," says Temple at this time§, "that France desires to pursue the war, but fears our engaging in it, and, to hinder that, will use all the address that can be, to lay the obstruction of peace upon the Spaniards. They, on the other side, desire to continue the war, provided they may be sure of our and Holland's assistance, and to that end, if they play their game well, they will be sure to retort the address of France upon them, and lay the blame of the war at their doors, without which they can have no hopes of Holland's falling into their party, who, whether they are partial to the French or no in this quarrel, are certainly partial

* Treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal, Feb. 13. 1668. In Dumont, vii. part i. p. 70.

† Arl. 227. Temple, i. 465.

‡ Letter to Trevor, March 5. i. 377. § March 13., i. 380.

to the peace, and will not be drawn to share in the war but upon the last necessity." This natural dislike of war in the Dutch, and the equally natural unwillingness of the Spaniards to lose their territory without a struggle, brought the representatives of the two nations into frequent collision. "The truth is, I never had so hard a part upon me as I have at this time, to keep all in good temper between the Marquis and the deputies of Holland; for, besides that their ends may perhaps be a little different, their complexions are completely so: he is not the easiest of access, nor the quickest of despatch, and his officers are at the same rate. The Dutch deputies are all upon the spur, and when they demand an audience or a paper, if they have it not within half an hour, they say the Marquis *se moque d'eux, et ils se trouvent obligés de l'escrire ce soir aux Etats, et que le Marquis ne cherche que des retardemens, et par la de les engager dans la guerre.*" . . "They think the Marquis ought to observe the States' order and directions as punctually as they, and will reason him to the death on every point. The Marquis, who uses to owe no man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult, by that time they have talked an hour, than he was at first, and, engaging in large discourses, gives them twenty occasions of growing warm upon the place, and come afterwards by interpretations that God knows were never in the case; so that, in their audience, between the Marquis's eloquence and their Leyden philosophy, the cavils commonly run high, and all is pique and re-

pique between them. But, if I go on, I shall weary your Lordship as much as they weary me." *

The Marquis at last † made his election for the first of the two alternatives; thus leaving France in possession of all the towns which she had conquered in the campaign of 1667. The determination of Spain to cede the conquered towns, rather than yield Franche Compté and other possessions desired by France, was not agreeable either to the English or to the Dutch, and the English mediator was unsuccessful in his endeavours to persuade the Spanish minister to the alternative. He nevertheless obtained credit with De Witt for bringing the affair to any conclusion at all: — "All Christendom must allow you the glory of having first disposed the King of Great Britain's mind to so strict an alliance between his Majesty and this State, for the universal good and peace of Europe." ‡ With his usual openness, Temple freely acknowledged his disappointment at this result, which left the United Provinces exposed to their ambitious neighbour. § Temple thus concluded a very clear

* To Lord Arlington, March 13., i. 380.

† It would appear that at first neither power understood *which* terms he accepted. See Temple's of March 6.; and Arlington's of March 2., p. 239. Probably, he, in the first instance, accepted the terms generally, and afterwards made his election between the two branches of the alternative. For the final explanation see Temple's of March 16., i. 384.

‡ April 27. 1668, i. 486.

§ Marshal Turenne thus explains, not very simply or satisfactorily, the Spaniard's choice: — "Spain ought, according to appearances, to have accepted the last proposition, and to cede to the French a country which was at their good pleasure, keeping a very strong barrier for the safety of her provinces in Flanders; but she preferred leaving all the great cities of the Netherlands exposed to the French, who might make

exposition of the whole business, which he addressed to Sir Orlando Bridgeman: — "I cannot pretend to guess what is like to become of a peace which both France and Spain come to so unwillingly, and which England and Holland promote upon conditions which they both dislike."*

Arlington concurred in Temple's view of the indisposition of France to the peace.† To him their object appeared to be, to throw the odium of the war upon Spain. Still, it was well that the matter had arrived at a decisive point. "The whole business is now cleared up, and we either succeed in the peace, or share with the Spaniards in the war."‡ Although the allies would enter into no particular engagements with Spain for the concert of forces, yet, in anticipation of a rupture, which appeared as probable to Arlington§ as to him, Temple had discussed with De Witt the mode of co-operation, and had suggested a junction of the fleets. Some difficulty arose out of the claims of England to be saluted in the narrow seas by the ships of all nations. Upon this point Temple was willing to relax a little in favour of the Dutch, with whom, he thought, he had concluded an al-

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themselves masters of them in one campaign. Castel-Rodrigo, with a refined policy, persuaded the Court of Madrid to take this course, hoping that, if France yielded at any time to the temptation of seizing the rest of the Low Countries, this excess of ambition would oblige the English and Dutch to assist Spain, to unite against France, and renew the war." — Mémoires de Turenne, ii. 152.

* Temple to the Lord Keeper, March 23., pp. 391–5. The whole letter is worthy of perusal.

† March 19., p. 281. ‡ March 6.

§ March 2., p. 241–2.

liance to last for ever! He listened favourably to a suggestion from De Witt, that the Dutch ships should first strike to the English, who were then to take down their flag, "as a civility," but to re-hoist it while the Dutch flag was still down. But his instructions were peremptory. "When I read to his Majesty your discourse with M. De Witt about the *pavillon*, he bid me silence you for the future in that point, because, however much M. De Witt may insist upon the contrary, that which hath been practised in all times must be acknowledged to be the rule, till we can be persuaded or beaten out of it. And the truth is, besides his Majesty's jealousy herein, the punctilio of the nation is so universal, that it cannot be held a safe thing to dispute it; so that, in conclusion, if you be called upon hereafter again in this matter, you must say that you dare not meddle in it till you have express directions to treat upon it." *

"I am sufficiently warned," replies Temple, with respectful candour, "upon the point of the *pavillon*, and will hope his Majesty's constancy therein proceeds from a resolution to take those courses and counsels, which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his ancestors were in whose time that point was first gained, for without that our pretensions will grow even at present and in time obsolete. In the meanwhile, I hope some expedient will be foreseen, that may prevent the inconveniences or unkindnesses which may

* Arlington, Feb. 28., p. 235.

happen between us and the Dutch upon this point in the present conjuncture; and, in case of necessity, to join our fleets." *

It is unnecessary to follow the French and Spanish governments through all the various delays and excuses which retarded the meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, where peace was ultimately to be negotiated.

Louis had, immediately after the signature of the Triple League, made a compliment to the King of England, almost (as Arlington expressed himself) unprovoked, that he would, to gratify the King, be content that the suspension of arms should be extended to the 15th of May. † Though Charles accepted this compliment, nothing came of it; and on the 19th of March ‡, the French King had proceeded no further towards the fulfilment of this offer, than an undertaking to make peace upon the original terms at any time previous to the 15th of May. And, instead of a suspension of arms from the end of March to that day, he now offered only to restore, on the conclusion of peace, such conquests as the warlike preparations, which he did not relax §, might enable him to make in the intermediate period.

When this offer was made, the French King was ignorant that Spain had at last recognised the principles of the Triple Alliance, by accepting the alternative; and the delays in carrying that treaty into effect might partly justify the method which

* March 16., i. 387. † Feb. 4. Arl. 203.
‡ M. de Lionne's letter of March 19. Arl. 255. § March 9.

Louis took, for bringing the question of peace or war to a conclusion; and, notwithstanding the Marquis's acceptance, Temple, as well as Arlington *, now considered peace as hopeless. He ascribed all the proceedings at Paris to "an irregular ambition, under a great deal of affectation and disguise, of which God only knew the issue." † Concerning that France was inclined to war, he justly distrusted diplomatic skill for averting it. "I will tell you (De Witt) in confidence, my opinion on all this. I think then, in the first place, that by all our negotiations, though never so well managed, by all our offices and caresses, we shall never obtain a peace from France while they have any appearance of pursuing their interest or their glory in carrying on the war; and that the only way of disposing them to a peace is to order it so, that they may find their interest in it; which we cannot otherwise do, but by shewing them the strength of our forces, and the firmness of our resolutions before the war begins; and since we only draw a war on ourselves by desiring a peace, to endeavour, on the contrary, to draw on the peace by making all the appearances of desiring a war." ‡

De Witt, who, while he obtained credit from the French King for his resistance of the delays of the Spaniards, was equally opposed to the warlike tendencies of France, concurred in Temple's views §, and proposed to bring France into the peace by a

* See his letters of March 2. 13. 16. 19., pp. 241. 245. 249. 280.
† To De Witt, March 25., i. 395.
‡ Ib. § March 25. Temple, i. 476.

vigorous demonstration. The zeal which he displayed excited the jealousy of D'Estrades, who, nevertheless, attributed it to the pressure of the factions opposed to him. *

Each party seemed desirous that the other should be unreasonable: France feared lest her own terms should be accepted; Spain, lest the aggressions on her provinces should cease. So at least the matter appeared to Temple; but as it is clear that Louis could easily have purchased the neutrality of England, it is probable that he was sincere in desiring peace, though he would willingly have raised his terms when he found conquest so easy, and would fain have retracted his engagement to suspend hostilities. Contemplating, under these strange circumstances, the probability of war, Sir William Temple sought powers from his government, to concert the method of co-operation with Spain. He now pressed the Marquis upon the desired loans of money, and the pecuniary arrangement with Holland †; but this, and every other result of the Triple Alliance, proceeded with a languor little proportionate to the speed with which the treaty was negotiated. The ministers in England were no more active than those of the Continent. "His Majesty is content that you should entertain your treaty with the Marquis; *but cares not that it should be absolutely*

* March 29., vi. 362.

† March 16. Temple, i. 386. Arlington had reiterated his applications on those subjects. — Arl. 204. 225. 237. See treaty of April 9. 1668, between Spain and the States, for a loan, to be advanced only on Spain's accepting the terms of peace. — Dumont, vii. part i. p. 82.

concluded but with Don John of Austria, who will have more power, more money, and, we hope, more indulgence, especially when he sees of how much use his Majesty may be to him." *

While these discussions occurred about war, it had been notified to Temple that he was to mediate the peace at Aix, and that, if the other ministers had it, he was to assume the character of ambassador. † In expressing his readiness to obey these orders, "In case," says Temple, "France will not consent to prolong the cessation, I see no reason his Majesty has to be at the trouble of sending a minister to a piece of mere pageantry, unless the Dutch press us to it, with whom it may not be fit to differ so much as in form; and shall not pretend to understand any more of this business, if, while the French carry on the war in earnest in Flanders, we, and the Dutch, and the Spaniards, shall be treating in jest at Aix." After urging, that, if the suspension of arms be refused, we ought "to betake ourselves to other counsels, I cannot," he says, "but esteem it more insolent in the French to pretend to dupe all the world so often, than to pretend to beat them." Contemplating a war, "I hope," he added, in the right spirit, "it will be remembered how 'far the honour of the nation' is concerned in the choice of every officer, this being the first occasion we have long had of meeting the

* March 13., p. 247. It is not easy to say, whether Arlington here intended only to put off that which he was determined never to accomplish, or whether he really looked to a more efficient treaty of co-operation with Don John of Austria.

† Arlington, March 13., p. 246.

French in the field; and if they could find an English general sleeping upon the ground with a stone under his head, as they did the Duke of Bedford * (that is, resolving his men should do no worse than himself), I doubt not but they would make us way now as well as then, at least in this war, if not in all others. The first part of a captain will be, to see his men submit, which must make way for order and discipline; as those for victory."†

Louis, however, fulfilled his engagements, and finally consented to prolong the truce to the end of May, provided that, if the peace with Spain were not concluded by that time, France should have better terms in June and July; and the project of a treaty, founded on this basis, was settled at Paris, between France and the allies, before the end of March.‡

Still the work of the Triple Alliance was not accomplished. The Spanish governor was enraged at the stipulations which, differing therein from the Triple League, were directed rather against Spain than against France; and the Marquis again reverted to his notion of preferring the entire abandonment of Flanders "to such a treatment from all their neighbours, who were more interested in the loss of it than themselves;" and Temple, who, though informed of the project, had no share in the negotiation of it, repeats his observations to

* The duke here intended, no doubt, is John, brother of Henry V., and Regent of France, and one of the numerous persons of Shakspeare's dramas of Hen. V. and VI. A vain attempt has been made to discover the chronicle from which Temple took his illustration of the soldier-like qualities of this brave Plantagenet.

† March 30. 1668. Sel. Let. 19. ‡ Arl. 300.

De Witt, as acknowledging their justice. Indeed, notwithstanding the confidence which subsisted between the English and the Dutch statesman, Temple certainly regarded with much more of favour the excuses and objections of the Spaniard *, who had unquestionably been ill-used at first, and now submitted with an ill grace. There was nothing in De Witt's observations on the conduct of Spain to justify the suspicion which had been instilled into Temple, that since their separation the Dutchman had changed his measures. Peace, on the terms of the Triple Alliance, had been his uniform object; he still pursued it; and the Dutch deputies participated in Temple's eagerness to conclude. In collision with Spanish gravity, even the phlegmatic Hollanders became lively and impatient, and they readily joined with Temple in the assurance which, without waiting for further instructions, he gave to the Marquis, that the articles of the Triple Alliance in favour of Spain should be carried into effect†, and the peace guaranteed. He had afterwards some reason to doubt whether he was justified in the assurances which he had given. "I comfort myself with the evidence that my refusal to sign might have endangered the peace, and with the worst circumstances; for thereupon the Marquis had likewise refused to authorise the signing of the treaty, which might have given the French occasion to change their minds, and the Dutch to suspect

* De Witt to Temple, March 16.; and Temple to De Witt, April 17., i. 482. and 402.

† Temple to Arlington, April 20. Sel. Lett. 32.

that I did it by concert with the Marquis, on purpose to hinder the peace; especially since his Majesty had upon all other occasions seemed forwarder even than they to favour the advantages, or at least securities, of Spain. However, if his Majesty esteems this a transgression in me, I humbly beg his pardon, and desire your lordship will both intercede for it, and signify it to me." *

Unless the letters of Lord Arlington were garbled in the publication, his answer † took no notice of these apologies. For precision in business, this was wrong; but the truth is, and perhaps Arlington had discovered it, that Temple dealt too much in excuses, and might sometimes be suspected of soliciting a compliment, when avowedly petitioning for pardon.

Deeds responded better than words. The Marquis was persuaded to acquiesce in the project, and a provisional treaty was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, on the 15th April, 1668.‡

This treaty was negotiated at Paris, by Sir John Trevor §, between whom and Temple a good understanding appears to have prevailed; nor is there any evidence of his participation in the disgraceful intercourse which occurred between Charles and Louis; but he had taken over with him to Paris,

* April 20. Sel. Lett. 32. † April 17. p. 324.

‡ D'Estrades, vi. 407. Arl. 313.

§ Sir John Trevor, born about 1626, of a good family in Wales, had been ambassador in France, and was appointed Secretary of State in October, 1668, being about forty-two years of age. He died while holding that office, in 1672. Not much is known of him, but his character appears to have been good. He married the heiress of the Hampdens, and his descendant was ennobled by that name. — Collins, vi. 295.

immediately after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, a letter of rather too much devotion and flattery to the French King, which yet contained nothing of which an honest ambassador might not fairly be the bearer.*

Charles went a little further in a letter to the Duchess of Orleans, in which he distinctly referred his concurrence in the Triple Alliance to the cold reception which his overtures had met with in France.† These were the overtures which ultimately led to the Secret Money Treaty. They were about this time repeated, through the Duke of Buckingham, to the Duchess of Orleans‡, and by Charles himself to Ruvigni.§ The course of the discussions is not so distinctly marked, as to enable

* In mentioning the Triple Alliance, or, rather, his arrangement with the Dutch, for he says nothing of Sweden, he says, "I believe I have not done a disagreeable thing to you, as we have agreed to propose the said peace upon the conditions that you have often expressed yourself willing to accept, and especially in your letter of the 27th past, in which (after having been so good as to communicate to me your intended march into the Franche Comté) you declare that, whatever the success may be, you are still willing to accept the before-mentioned conditions, *thus sacrificing your private interests to the public good; a most generous sentiment, and worthy of you.* I have ordered the Chevalier Trevor, a gentleman of my bedchamber, whom I have sent to France in quality of my Envoy Extraordinary, to explain matters to you more at large, and the desire I have to execute the treaty I have made *with every possible regard to your satisfaction;* to whom, if you please, you will give entire confidence, and more particularly when he assures you of the invariable friendship which, on all occasions, I wish to preserve," &c. — Feb. 3. 1667–8. Dalrymple, i. 68.

† "You will be a little surprised at the treaty I have concluded with the States: the effect of it is to bring *Spain* to consent to the peace upon the terms the King of France has avowed he will be content with: so, as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide for myself against any mischiefs this war may produce, *and finding my proposition to France receive so cold an answer, which, in effect, was as good as a refusal,* I thought I had no other way but this to secure myself." — Jan. 23. 1667-8. Dalr. i. 67.

‡ P. 69. § P. 70.

us to connect with it all the variations in the policy of the English government; nor is the period exactly known at which Arlington became a party to them; but these secret transactions had assuredly much influence upon the negotiations consequent upon the Triple Alliance.

Sir William Temple was now empowered as ambassador to the Congress of Aix.* He had no special instructions. "I do not yet foresee," Arlington told him, "the necessity of adding an instruction, but follow the rule of Solomon, that says, '*Send a wise man upon an errand, and say nothing to him.*'"† This confidence was honourable, and acceptable to Temple. He would willingly have dispensed with a further mark of the King's reliance upon his personal resources:—"We should send you money to gild this character, but I hope your own credit will suffice you for the present, as your own talent will supply you with instructions."‡

Temple was not much gratified by these ungilded honours:—"I have received your lordship's of the 16th and 19th, the first accompanied with powers under the great seal, and the other under the signet, which will serve to fill my head and empty my purse; what other effects they will have, either upon the business or upon me, I cannot tell. I am not yet very fond, that I can find, of entering upon my new honour."§ And he begged hard not to be obliged to assume a higher character

* Lord Arlington, March 13., p. 245.

† Ib. We do not doubt Solomon's having said this, but neither memory, nor "concordance," has helped us to the passage.

‡ Arlington, March 16., p. 249. § April 3. Sel. Lett. 24.

than that of envoy extraordinary, unless the representatives of Spain and the States, as well as France, should be clothed with the dignity of ambassador. "In this, (the envoy's office,) I am pretty confident to acquit myself well enough, both in these and other circumstances; whereas the other is a thing I know nothing of, and enough to make a poor man's head turn round, that was always brought up in shade and silence till your lordship brought me out upon the stage. In case the greater character cannot be avoided, there are many ceremonies I should be instructed in; as what to give to envoys, whether to return visits to the Pope's nuncio, and others, which yet I consider 'tis possible his Majesty may choose to let me commit errors in, by my own ignorance or choice, rather than give me any direct instructions; however, as far as that may be, I desire your lordship not to leave me at large." *

To meet his modest wishes, Arlington sent to Temple a new power, as envoy extraordinary †; and after some further delays, occasioned by the distrust which prevailed among all parties, he set out for Aix, on the 24th of April, accompanied by Lord Stafford‡ and others; he endeavoured in vain to avoid the honours which awaited him on his journey. Though he passed by a private way, "he found the road where it lay over against the town (of Hassel) crowded with people, and among them the magistrates of the town, who, in the highway,

* April 3. Sel. Lett. 24. † Arl. 298.
‡ William Howard, who was beheaded in 1680.

entertained him with a speech and banquet, great stores of wine, and all the great guns of the town at the same time."* Other towns vied with Hassel in the greatness of the volleys of shot with which they saluted the representative of England.

When at last Temple arrived at Aix, labouring under severe indisposition, he found unexpected difficulties on the part of the Spanish minister. M. Colbert † was prepared to sign the treaty, in entire conformity with the project; and Beverning‡, the Dutch minister, was equally anxious for a conclusion, but Baron Berjeyck, though duly instructed by Castel Rodrigo, made trifling excuses. "I desire you," wrote Temple to the Marquis, "in the name of all those who wish well to the affairs of Spain and of Christendom, to despatch an express command to the Baron to sign without further trifling." . . . . "If your excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I discharge myself at least of all the fatal effects that may arrive upon it. I desire your excellency yet once more to grant this despatch to the instances of one who has sounded the bottom of this affair with all possible attention, and all the reflections I am capable of making, and who forms a judgment of it without other passion than that I have for the preservation of Flanders."§

* I. 418.

† Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, brother of the great Colbert. — Biog. Univ. iv. 224.

‡ Jerome Beverning had negotiated the treaty of 1654 with Cromwell; and had been Treasurer-general of the United Provinces. Wicquefort styles him a man of consummate ability in affairs of all sorts. — Book ii. c. 17.

§ Aix, April 28, 1668, i. 406.

Two days afterwards, the English minister warns the Viceroy that France had given notice of her intention to renew the war, if the representative of Spain should still withhold his signature from the treaty. "I have intentions," he adds, "to use all means for advancing the peace, in concert with the Dutch ambassador, and can by no means disagree with his resolutions. I bear with what patience I can the mortification to see that I must pass for a person whom your excellency has imposed upon, by giving me an order which your minister was not to obey; but I cannot bear with patience to see that the affairs of all Christendom must be absolutely ruined by a caprice of the Baron de Berjeyck. For I will not, as others do, impute to your excellency such a feint as that of drawing from us all assurances which you demanded, upon your promise of immediately signing the treaty, and then of giving me a sort of order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter-order in secret. I should not have left Brussels, had not your excellency assured me that the Baron should sign without delay whenever I judged it necessary. I now find it so, and have told him it is so very necessary, that I believe France would not have carried greater advantages, nor triumphed more, after the winning of a battle, than on the advance they have made on this occasion. For myself, I was never in my life in greater mortification than what I have borne in this affair."*

* Aix, April 30., p. 410.

These vigorous remonstrances had an early and complete effect: the Marquis, whose ready compliance acquits him of the charge of trickery, insinuated in Temple's letters, sent new orders for signing the treaty.

But even the process of signature was attended with difficulties. The Baron de Berjeyck, representative of Spain, received orders to sign the treaty; but M. Colbert, the French ambassador, went singly to the Pope's nuncio*, and signed one original of the treaty there; and then to the Dutch minister's, where he executed another, apologising for not signing at the English minister's house, by reason of Temple's illness.

Now came the Baron's turn to sign; when it was found that the French *diplomate* had scrawled out his signature from one side to the other of the paper, in order that there might be no room for the name of the representative of the Spanish monarchy.

The Baron claimed a right to sign in the same line, alternating right and left in the two copies; nor would he go to the nuncio's house to perform the operation. Colbert, on the other hand, denied the Baron's right to an equality, because he was not an ambassador; and refused to acknowledge his signature, unless affixed in the presence of one of the mediators. Two days were wasted in these disputes. "The Baron being a man in preciseness and caution more a Spaniard than a Spaniard him-

* The Pope had been, from the beginning, a sort of nominal mediator.

self, I was weary," says Temple, who was all the time in the bed of sickness, "of so many comings and goings with messages about these perplexing trifles." He now got well enough to return the formal visits of the three ministers; and at last got the Baron to sign one instrument, and leave it in his hands, and send another by his secretary to the nuncio's house. Thus was the treaty completed*, "so that I may give his Majesty a *parabien*† of two peaces, so great and so important to the world, made by his authority and influence since the beginning of this year, and will assure your lordship that every body gives this wholly to him, and I think with reason, and do not shrink to confess, that giving all the name of it to the Pope is to treat his holiness *un peu en ridicule.*"‡

"Now I can," writes Lord Arlington§, "give you the *parabien* of this great work, which you may without vanity call your own, whatever *padrinos*‖ you may have had to assist you in it; and with more satisfaction, considering what escapes you made betwixt the Marquis his resolutions, the Baron de Berjeyck's punctilios, and M. Colbert's *emportement.* God be thanked the great business and you are so well delivered from these accidents!"¶

Even after the treaty was signed, there were difficulties about the completion of the instruments,

* May 2. 1668. Dumont, vii. part i. p. 89.
† Spanish; a compliment of congratulation.
‡ May 2. Sel. Lett. p. 36.
§ May 8., p. 334.
‖ Padrino signifies a sponsor or bridesman.
¶ May 8. Arl. 334.

and the exchange of the ratifications. The Spaniards, though they were greatly injured in the whole transaction, and only compelled by force into the peace, put themselves in the wrong, by their excuses, whereby they attempt to evade an inevitable result. These proceedings set Messrs. Beverning and Berjeyck "at those heights," says Temple, "that they were several times upon the point of drawing their swords in my room." *

"I have been the more earnest in bringing this matter to an issue here, which the Holland ambassador" repeats Temple with characteristic egotism, "says, had never been done without me, because I conceived from all I had heard from your lordship, as well as from other hands, not only that you desired it in England, but that the peace was necessary for the constitution of his Majesty's present affairs; and since he has had the glory of making two peaces so important, we have now nothing to wish, but to see him in a condition to make war as well as peace, whenever the honour and interests of his crowns shall make it necessary; for that necessity, I suppose, can be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a posture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make advantage of it. And I think the best time to fall into counsels tending to this great end, will be after the conclusion of this general peace, when no engagement abroad forces his Majesty to have so much need of money from his people. . . . . God of heaven

* May 8., i. 419.

send your lordship to be a happy instrument in the proposal and application of such counsels, and that we may take warning by the poor Spaniards' example, whose ill conduct of late in the government has so far subjected them to their neighbours' disesteem and insolence and humour, as well as to their conquests, violence, and oppression, which I confess have been charged to put them upon *such desperate counsels as your lordship mentions of giving up all to the French in these countries, rather than be the bare guardians of others' frontiers.* * And yet, all these misfortunes are the natural consequences of their conduct, and will never fail befalling any prince that follows their example." †

Temple nowhere explains more particularly his meaning in this passage; it is doubtful whether he alludes to the misgovernment of the Low Countries, or to an impolitic administration of the resources of Spain. The criticism appears somewhat harsh: there is no evidence of any treacherous assistance given to the French invaders; and it was hardly possible for the Spanish government to be prepared at all moments to resist the perfidious aggressions of a monarch at the head of a great nation, always willing to minister to his glory. Indeed, Spain was fortunate in disconnecting herself, by the treaty of Utrecht, from these troublesome possessions; and the branch of the house of Austria upon which the

* Arl. 321. † May 8., i. 421.

Netherlands afterwards devolved, did wisely, at a later period*, in declining to repossess them; however Dutch or English interest might have been injured, it would have been good counsel for Spain to commute all she had in the Netherlands, for a maintainable acquisition on the side of her own peninsula.

The peace was finally published at Brussels on the 30th of May, 1668†, "with the smallest ceremonies that could well be allowed it, but with more joy" says Temple, who had returned thither, "in their hearts than their faces; for they all now confess, what is left them is perfectly owing to his Majesty, in bringing this affair to an end; and to say truth, the posture this country is in, with two armies at the gates of Brussels, is enough to convince them that it was no longer time to be brave."‡

The discontent of the Spanish court had now nearly involved England and Holland in a breach of faith. Those two powers had procured the co-operation of Sweden by a promise of subsidies from Spain; Castel Rodrigo now tried to evade the payment. This Spaniard "seemed to be of the nature of some men, that can do nothing frankly that they resolve or desire ever so much, but must ever be gaining time, whether they go to a wedding, or a scaffold."§

Temple at last satisfied the Marquis that the

* At the peace of 1814.
† Sel. Let. 50.
‡ June 1. Sel. Let. p. 50.
§ May 29. Sel. Let. 49.

payments were due, but he now broke violently out against the Dutch. Temple, however glad to conciliate the Spaniards, would not desert the friends of his own making; and declared that "Spain must not disoblige Holland, even to oblige England, nor dissemble any resentments they had given them, and sacrifice them to the advantage both we and Spain received by their present separation from France." *

While Spain was thus managed by Temple, the Dutch opinion of his merits was warmly expressed: —"You ought to be well satisfied with your whole conduct, since the success so well answers your good intention, and that your work has so excellent an agreement with the foundations you had laid. *All Christendom owes you the glory of having first disposed the king of Great Britain's mind to so strict an alliance between his Majesty and this State, for the universal good and peace of Europe.* It is upon this principle you have continued to labour with so much application, and so successfully with the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, that *it is chiefly to you we are indebted for the good disposition he is in at present,* and for the enjoyment of so great an advantage to Christendom as results from it.

Neither Temple nor De Witt was entirely satisfied with their joint work; they were not content with the positions which the Spaniard's choice of the alternative had given to France in the Ne-

* To Arlington, May 22., i. 428.

therlands, and concurred * in hoping that some subsequent change of places might be negotiated. Had the character of English politics been such as to allow De Witt to pursue his own course, better terms might have been obtained in the first instance: it was now too late.

* See Temple's of May 27.; De Witt's of April 27. Temple, i. pp. 429. and 486. There is some confusion, probably some misprint, as to the dates.

CHAPTER X.

TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE. — HIS DEVOTION TO ORMOND AND TO ARLINGTON. — OFFICIAL JEALOUSIES. — PROJECT OF A NATIONAL COSTUME. — DISTURBANCES IN SCOTLAND. — SEAT IN PARLIAMENT. — ALGERNON SIDNEY. — OBSERVATIONS ON PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. — PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES. — CLIFFORD. — LORD LISLE.

1663—1668.

THE correspondence to which we have referred for the political transactions of this eventful period, contains much other matter, which may tend to elucidate the character of Temple and his times.

During the whole course of his employment abroad, he kept up a correspondence with the Duke of Ormond, whom, from a very early period, he addressed in that language of devotion which he used with too little discrimination. To Ormond, a steady friend and worthy man, it was not misapplied. "I find the continuance of that favour to me which I am sure I never deserved the beginning of, and therefore must attribute it wholly to a generous disposition of obliging those who can the least pretend to it, and are the least capable of returning it. I shall make only this present use of it, — to beg

of your Grace that you will be pleased to esteem me the more your own, as all great persons are more apt to do those they oblige, than those who serve them." What follows is remarkable, as an evidence of Temple's earliest views of foreign affairs:—

"My Lord Ambassador * sets out for Spain to-morrow, where great preparations are made for his reception, with the greatest care and welcome that court can express. My Lord Holles is not so well used in France, but is of late so much unsatisfied, that it is believed he will be recalled; and yet, *if his Majesty think it advisable to make a strict league with the Dutch, I know he has it now in his power, and will not then have reason to fear any ill influence from the aspect of this great comet that is risen of late, the French King, who expects not only to be gazed at, but admired, by the whole world.* †

So early as 1663, Ormond solicited for Temple a grant of the reversion of the office of Master of the Rolls in Ireland, after the death or resignation of his father, and of Sir Maurice Eustace, who had a prior reversionary grant. Clarendon and Arlington (then Secretary Bennet) supported the application, and "the King was resolved to oblige him both in the manner and the thing itself." He sent for him into his closet, and told him that "in reward of his good affections, and those services he

* Sir Richard Fanshaw. See p. 73.
† Jan. 19. 1663. Ormond Papers, U. U. p. 122.

had done him," alluding, apparently, to the Irish parliament, "and for an engagement to many more he expected from him hereafter, he resolved to give him the reversion of his father's place.* Although offices in courts of law are most improperly applied to such purposes, reversions may sometimes be highly advisable and convenient for all parties; but the system, which prevailed until our own times, of making some provision for a young man who devotes useful talents to the public service, even though the course of affairs should not allow of his serving for many years in a laborious office, has been abandoned with little regard to justice or policy. It is a reform, in which the ignorant many, and the wealthy few, have combined to drive from the service of their country, men whose only possession is character and talents.

To Ormond also, it would appear, Temple owed the first, and indeed, in its kind, the only honour that he received from the crown:—"I think I am bound to be ever acknowledging, and never returning by any more real services, the favour I received from your Grace's resolution to oblige me, which my Lord Arlington has acquainted me with, in your late recommendation to an honour † which his Majesty had pleased, but a very little time before, to confer upon me. I am, as I ought to be,

* April 7. 1664. The warrant was countersigned by Henry Bennet, as Secretary of State. Ormond Papers, U. U. p. 124.; and Q. Q. Q. iii.. p. 208.

† The baronetcy.

as sensible of your Grace's intentions, as if the effort had been owing wholly to them, not only of this advance, but of any other that I have much more at heart; at least, if there be any such for his Majesty's gracious acceptance of my humble endeavours towards his service, both in the employment and honour I have received, more than I had reason to hope, or ambition to desire." *

Of Ormond's letters we have very few. Temple having sent him some stuff, manufactured in Flanders, he writes †, "To-morrow I shall be in your livery, and perhaps try whether your Brussels camblet will resist Irish rain, as I have known it do that of Flanders. I must thank you for the present, as coming very seasonably, both in respect of the time of year, and that, for aught I can yet find, my Michaelmas rent would hardly have purchased two cloaks, and that your stuff will make me, if I shall be honestly dealt with."

In one of his letters, Temple asks the Duke to sit for his picture. We know not whether this request was granted.

His connexion with Ormond was fortunate and lasting; not so all those on which he professed to set an equal value.

The vehemence of his expressions of devotion to Lord Arlington has already been noticed. There are other instances too remarkable to be omitted: —"Having taken the advantage of the Marquis's absence to make a step as far as Bruges, and wel-

* Brussels, March 12. 1666. Ormond Papers, U. U.
† Kilkenny, Oct 14. 1666. Temple, ii. 453.

come a friend newly arrived, I there received new testimonies of your lordship's great favour and indulgence, both to me and mine. This has added much to a debt which I can never otherwise pay than by a practice that is used in some nations,—that a man gives himself for a slave to his creditor when his debts are grown wholly desperate; but your lordship would lose by that bargain, too, for I can never be any man's so perfectly by constraint, as I am yours by my own free choice and inclination."* "Though I know myself," he says in another letter, "too well ever to enter into expostulation with your lordship, yet I am well enough content that you were pleased to give that interpretation to something in one of my letters, since it occasioned those expressions of your lordship's favour and kindness that I received in your last, of the 3d current, by which I am the more obliged the less I deserve them; but my heart tells me the fault is not there." †

The collector of Lord Arlington's letters has not published that one which elicited this piece of humility, of which Arlington's reply ‡ takes not the slightest notice.

We know not whether the following ought to be ascribed to humility, or to a sensitive temper:—"I will, upon this occasion, (when Arlington § had simply repeated an injunction to publish a letter from the King to the States,) once for all beg your lordship to believe that *I am not of a humour to*

* May 7. 1666.
† Brussels, Aug. 20. 1666.
‡ July 30., p. 92.
§ Arlington, Feb. 15., p. 115.

reason where I ought to obey, and that all commands I receive you may safely reckon upon as performed, unless I give you an account of the delays or difficulties that attend them." *

"You will grow in time secure that when I know his Majesty's intentions, I shall not fail in pursuing them with as much diligence at least as any man, and for the success I must take my fortune." †

It is probable that the compiler of Lord Arlington's correspondence, having in view only the part which his patron took in public matters, omitted every thing which did not bear upon his purpose; for it is scarcely credible that the minister, a friendly and good-natured man, should leave entirely unacknowledged communications like these: —

When called to England previously to the Triple Alliance, he is "sorry to miss the opportunity of being of service to Mademoiselle Beverwaert (Arlington's intended wife), in her business and her passage here." ‡ — "Among the other troubles and disappointments of my Munster journey, I would fain forget that your lordship mentions,—of failing in my attendance upon Lady Arlington." . . . . "I expect your orders to the merchant at Amsterdam, how my lady's money shall be disposed, which I shall see executed when they arrive. *I have visited the coach, and hastened it all I can, having given orders for the lining of it with the best plain crimson velvet, which were my lady's com-*

* March 1. 1667.
† March 9. 1667.
‡ Antwerp, April 6. 1666.

*mands by Mr. Corney.** — "I will end your lordship's trouble by telling you the coach would soon be finished if the cyphers were come that M. Ognati had ordered to be made in brass-work upon the false windows of both sides and ends; the coachmaker has written to me, and desired me to do it, being almost at a stand." † — "The coach I visited this day, which will be finished on Monday. The price will rise to 2450 guilders." ‡

If Lord Arlington did not always acknowledge or return the compliments which were paid to him, he respected the feelings of his friend, even when excited by insufficient causes. A Mr. Glanville had been sent over to Ostend, upon business connected with the recovery of the tin which had been lost: the jealousy of Temple was excited, and he complained in his usual style of affected indifference:—"I had resolved never to mention Mr. Glanville more, since he takes occasion to publish at Ostend and Bruges that I have done all I can to oppose his being the King's agent at Ostend, but that the copies of my letters are sent him still by the next post, though they have been to so little purpose, that his commission is now prepared, and will come next week; which, *God knows, I trouble my head so little about, and if his Majesty thinks fit to have his residency here broken into so many splinters, I shall repent it no otherwise than is due to the present unwillingness of the resident.*" §

"I call to mind," says the minister, "that there

* Brussels, May 7. 1666.
‡ About 200*l.* May 21. 1666.
‡ Brussels, May 11. 1666.
§ May 7. 1666.

was likewise in your letter some dissatisfaction of yours towards our employing Mr. Glanville, as if it were the dismembering a part of your commission. It is in Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's and Alderman Backwell's hands to continue or suspend his further dealing in the recovery of the tin; all he is trusted with by me, is the safe conveying of our letters and intelligence to and fro in this conjuncture. And for this, methinks, a small measure of honesty and discretion will suffice: if he prove faulty in either of these points, according to your observations, or ours, we can quickly recall his trust, and put it into some other hands. But readily we know not where to find one in that post. I shall in my next to him warn him not to be wanting in his respects and observance towards you; and if he be, upon the first knowledge of it, I promise you he shall be discarded." *

It may be doubted whether Temple was quite sincere in his reply:—"I am extremely obliged by what your lordship says on Mr. Glanville's occasion, but beg that you will begin no quarrel with him on mine. I inquire not at all into his commission, though he takes care to give me here, and all people at Antwerp, notice of it in another nature than your lordship mentions; but I attribute all these little insolences only to *an excessive vanity, which, methinks, deserves less anger than compassion.*" † So, possibly, thought Arlington of the humour of his correspondent, notwithstanding the

* Arlington, May 4. 1666, p. 77. † May 21. 1666.

assumed indifference of his next communication: —"Mr. Glanville will not be satisfied unless I let your lordship know that he came to me this morning; the ground of both being, I suppose, an apprehension that your lordship pleases to concern yourself a little more than he imagined in a person that is so much your own as I am, and, withal, that you were unsatisfied with his carriage towards me; which, though a slight particular, yet it gives me great reason of considering and acknowledging that strange inclination your lordship has long expressed to favour me, and to support, as well as raise me, upon all occasions, since you could descend to do me right in such a matter as I had wholly overlooked myself." *

Temple, in his turn, had availed himself of the assistance of a person, of whom unfavourable reports were made to the Secretary of State, who had written accordingly to the resident, whose rather querulous explanations are subjoined:—

"When Mr. Corney's business at Antwerp is finished, I resolve to end all my commerce with him; and since you have not yet pleased to prescribe me the manner, as I desired in one of mine, I shall choose that most agreeable to my own nature, which is, to do it very fairly, and without noise or unkindness; and that your lordship may not be apt another time, upon any bare information, to believe much of my easiness or openness in my affairs, I will assure you, that in all the time of our

* June 1. 1666.

acquaintance he has never yet seen one letter I have written to or received from your lordship, nor had any part of the moneys which have passed through my hands in his power, that I can call to mind, by which your lordship may, if you please, satisfy all those who have been wondering to you that I have so much trusted him: and, withal, assure yourself that none has or shall come under my roof, since your lordship has persuaded his Majesty to enlarge it, who shall find shelter there against any expressions of yours; and how they are founded, whether it be fit for your lordship to examine or no, I shall never think it so for me." *

Mentioning in another letter the necessity of retaining Corney for a time, he adds, "I will confess I am not displeased this occasion has happened to force his stay a little longer, because Mr. Glanville has given himself the pleasure of telling his companions, that upon his information against Mr. Corney I have been forced to discard him, which, under his favour, is somewhat insolent, as his carriage has been since I have known him, and, I doubt, something worse in other points; but I resolved never to mention him, as I am sure I never would, if he would be contented with it; and, as I think it my best course, since he pretends to have so much interest, as to have all I write to your lordship transmitted to him: but all I shall say of him is, only to desire your lordship to tell me whether you know the man or no." †

* Oct. 5. 1666. † Oct. 12. 1666.

Lord Arlington's secretary thus docketed Temple's letter:—"Desires to know if your lordship knew Mr. Glanville, *against whom he continues his pique.*" But the reply is, nevertheless, all that Temple could expect:—"I found yours of the 12th and 15th, one part relating to Mr. Corney, whom, as I assured you in a former, you are not at all censured for having employed; therefore, after the caution given you concerning him, it is in your own hands to continue to use him, or not, as you see cause." . . . . . "As for Mr. Glanville, he was recommended to me; but since, after so fair a warning given him, he continues still to behave himself impertinently towards you, I shall make no scruple to discharge him." *

Never having heard that Charles II. indulged himself in planning dresses for his subjects, we are unable to give any explanation of what follows:—"His Majesty's resolution of a *certain habit, by which the nation shall be known,* is infinitely applauded by the Marquis, and all others here. I should be glad to know from your lordship that it is likely to be as constantly observed as it is wished and honourably resolved." †

Towards the end of the year 1666, there were some rather serious disturbances in the west and south of Scotland, which originated in the attempt to restore episcopacy.‡ Of the insurgents about fifty were killed in action, and twenty suffered capital punish-

* Oct. 12. Arl. 100. † Brussels, Nov. 5. 1666.
‡ Lingard, xii. 160., quoting Woodrow, 247. 256.; and App. 86, 87, 88. Burnet, i. 451.

ment under the law. In rejoicing at the defeat of these rebels, "I comforted myself," says Temple, "and satisfied others here, that there could be room left for no reflection upon this accident, since all was brought to pass by the Scots government and forces, without any being sent from England to finish the adventure. I hope the examples to be made among the prisoners will act what remains towards the prevention of such future disorders, for, *I think it was well observed by a wise man, that no government can long stand fast or remain steady, without some great example, either of virtue or severity, at intervals of time not long enough to allow them to wear out of memory.*

In reference to these insurgents, the Duke of Ormond says, — "I am very confident they had well wishers here, which is a good, or rather a bad step to correspondency, as that is to conjunction. Those" adds the zealous churchman, "who think well of Presbyterians distinguish those fellows, and call them Remonstrators: I think the true difference is, these thought they had the power to change the government, *and the others do wish they had.*" *

Although Temple was, by common consent, peculiarly fitted for the diplomatic line, and had every reason to expect promotion in it, his thoughts turned towards the English Parliament. "I have sometimes thought to beg of your lordship the accomplishment of what his Majesty was once pleased to intend,

* Ormond to Temple, Dec. 18. 1666, ii. 454.

which was, my election into the Commons House in England, at least whenever there fall any in *the Cinque Ports, or such a part where a sheet of paper does the business;* and I hear there are now some such like to be empty. I suppose others, as distant as I, have their names there, and I am sure I have no other reason to desire it, but only that when his Majesty shall have no use of me in this kind, I may have the satisfaction of serving him in some other; and my friends in Ireland used to think, that if I had any talent at all, it lay that way; but this is a thing I am induced to propose only to your lordship, by the confidence you are pleased to allow me, and which, after the bare mention, I learn only there, where I shall ever wish to lodge all the concernments of William Temple."*

Algernon Sidney was at this time residing abroad, having never submitted to the restored monarchy. The intimacy between the Temples and the Sidneys has been noticed; and it now induced the ill-fated republican to ask Temple's assistance in conveying two letters to England. Having reason to believe that the one of them only related to some Barbary horses, which Sidney had procured for the Earl of Northumberland†, and the other to some family affairs, in which Sir John Temple was concerned, he took charge of the letters.‡

* Sept. 3. 1666; and see p. 133. *antè.*

† Sidney's mother was the daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.

‡ See his letter to Sidney. Temple, i. 265.

"I remember I asked your lordship, upon my coming over, what my carriage should be if I met him in any of my journeys, which I thought my father's former acquaintance with him, and some little of my own, might bring to pass. Your lordship then told me, that I might be civil to him, and just so much I have been upon this occasion. If I am to take any other measures, I desire to receive them from your lordship, this being the first word I have heard of him since my arrival on this side."*

We know not whether any restraint was put upon the communications between Temple and Sidney; but no further correspondence is extant.

In reference to the proceedings of the House of Commons in 1668†, and the inquiries into the miscarriages of the late war, Temple writes thus freely to the Secretary of State‡: — "I do not see why his Majesty should [not] not only consent, but encouraged, any inquiries or disquisitions they desire to make into the miscarriages of the late war, as well as he has done in the matter of accounts; for, if it be not necessary, it is a King's ease and happiness to content his people. I doubt, as men will never part willingly with their money, unless they be well persuaded it will be employed directly to these ends for which they give it, so they will never be satisfied with a government, unless they see men are chosen into office and employments by being fit for them,

* April 29. 1667.
† See p. 201. *antè*.
‡ March 2. 1668, i. 376.

continued for discharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary merit, and punished for remarkable faults: besides, *in these cases, his Majesty discharges the hardship and severity of all punishments upon the Parliament*, and commits no force upon the gentleness of his own nature, while his subjects see that no tenderness of their prince, nor corruption of ministers, can preserve them long from paying what they owe to any forfeits of their duty. Nor, indeed, can any prince do any justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that serve him ill, since that is to make their conditions equal where deserts are different. I should not say this to any person but your lordship, to whom I know part of that justice is due; but, to say the truth, the progress and end of the last war went so much to my heart, and I have heard so much lately from M. de Witt concerning the carriage of it on our side, especially what fell under his eye while he was abroad in the fleet, that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excused for their warmth in this pursuit. But your lordship can best discern, by the course of debates, whether this proceeds from a steady intention upon a general good, or from some accidental distempers, from which the greatest and best assemblies of men are not always free, especially when they have continued long together."

This letter was acknowledged by Arlington, in a long despatch, in which he took no notice whatever of this part of it.*

The remarks are generally judicious. Where there

* March 2.

is a reasonable ground for imputing blame to a public officer, it is neither politic nor just to screen him from inquiry and punishment; and nothing is more true, than that the meritorious servants are wronged by reward or impunity afforded to the undeserving. Whatever may be the motives of those who pushed on the prosecution of Brouncker* and Pett†, it must be allowed that a Dutch fleet in the Medway, and an English fleet slacking sail in a victorious pursuit, ought not to have been unheeded by an English Parliament. Temple's expressions on this, and on other occasions, are such as in these days we should denominate *liberal;* but here, as elsewhere in his writings, there breaks out in the manly and honest gentleman something too much of the politician. It is not the part of a high-minded statesman to throw off, as is here suggested, from his own shoulders, the responsibility of a necessary and just severity.

What follows is not liable to this objection: —"How far that (a vigorous conjunction with the Dutch) is likely to succeed, your lordship will best judge by the temper of the parliament, who, I hope, will not be so far transported with the miscarriages of one war, as not to prevent those of another; and if they will take what care is necessary in the last, I know not why his Majesty should not suffer them to take what pains they please in

* Brouncker was said to have given orders, while the Duke of York was asleep, for putting a stop to the pursuit of the French fleet after the action of June 3. 1665. — James, i. 415. 421. He was expelled from the House of Commons.

† Pett was Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham, and was impeached for neglect of duty. Parl. Hist. iv. 404—8.

the other, or to concern himself to protect any who shall appear not to deserve it by their conduct in his service. I am sure the discredit of any misintelligence between his Majesty and his parliament at this time, or the delay of his supplies, will be such a step towards the progress of the French greatness as we may live long to regret, but never to remedy; and therefore I hope that his Majesty will find out the ways of compassing that which is so necessary for the present good of Christendom, as well as for our safety; and I am confident there is a great road that would lead easily to it, if we could once hit it off. God of heaven direct his Majesty in so great an affair, and so great a conjuncture, and give your lordship the honour of advancing such counsels and resolutions as may best secure the glory and happiness of his Majesty and his kingdoms!" *

Although some of Temple's remarks may display too much proneness to political management, they are commendable for their freedom, and the independent spirit which they evince. It is lamentable that the irregularities of Charles's exchequer compelled him to accompany them with complaints of the insufficiency and irregularity of his official receipts.

"Since my last, of the 7th, I have received your lordship's of August the 24th, and shall make the best use I can of all the advertisements or directions I there find; though it must be another

* Brussels, March 9. 1668.

sort of despatch which must enable me, or any other person here, to act or write any thing without your lordship's knowledge. For my part, I am resolved to give you no more trouble in that particular concern of mine about which I have written so much already; but find myself in the same fortune still I was in a month since, and begin to wish my friends had rather never begun than so soon given over to assist me." *

"I find none of your lordship's commands so difficult to obey as those wherein my own advantage may seem the most to concern me, among which is that of my own mentioning what sum I desired might be proposed to his Majesty in consideration of my extraordinaries. All I can resolve to say is, my journey to Munster cost me 175*l.*, and that the accounts which have been kept these last four months (since my secretary's coming over), of other journeys, expresses, and letters, amount to 80*l.* Whatever passed before that time, I long since complained to your lordship of my being disabled to reckon, by the carelessness and sudden parting of a servant; nor do I know whether it be not a wrong to my charity and affection to my country to place upon his Majesty's account what I give to the relief of seamen on their passage; so that, whatever his Majesty shall please to allow, above these two sums ascertained, I must esteem wholly of his lordship's bounty; and, indeed, whatever else I receive, considering how little any of it is deserved, more than

* Brussels, Sept. 15. 1665.

by a devout zeal, and a plain good meaning, in all my inconsiderable services.*

"Though I am so much used to the expressions and effects of your lordship's favours, yet I grow not at all the less sensible of them, and therefore must needs acknowledge what you were pleased to say in your last, concerning my small pretensions, which I mentioned in my last, and shall not trouble your lordship further about them, though they may be grown a little more necessary by the great increase of my company here, and the good counsel your lordship sent me over by them, which I shall certainly follow whilst I think his Majesty's honour at all concerned in my expenses, and whilst all that little I have will help to bear them out." †

"Since your lordship was pleased in one of your letters to ask me whether what was done in my private concerns was to my satisfaction, I will only presume to tell you that nothing is done at all, and that I begin to doubt my good friend, Alderman Backwell." ‡

"I shall humbly recommend to you," he tells the Lord Keeper, "the countenancing my wife in her pursuing the payment of my ordinary allowances while I am abroad, since the narrowness of my own fortunes (while it pleases God to continue my father's life to us) will not suffice me to serve his Majesty without troubling him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or six months of my ordinaries are grown in arrears." And after stating the small-

* Brussels, May 21. 1666. † May 25. 1666.
‡ Dec. 10. 1666.

ness of his allowances, he adds, "I am perfectly content to live just in the posture his Majesty thinks fit I should, while I serve him, and very willing to spend his allowance and my own income, but not more, which is the plain truth of my story." *

Temple's public situation afforded methods by which an unscrupulous man might have increased his income: it is scarcely necessary to say that these were rejected. "I have been offered, by several, thirty or forty guilders for a passport †, if I would have parted from them without these assurances ‡, on the Marquis's recommendation; upon which difficulties, and none at all of price, ten of the dozen lie still in my hand. I know this trade might be managed by another with more ease and profit on both sides; but I hope that will not incline his Majesty to settle it in a train wherein his credit in these countries shall be judged wholly a cypher; for sure the countenance at least belongs to him whereon the profit runs, which, in a respect, may be less necessary in other men's fortunes, but I am sure is less conversant in no man's thoughts than mine." §

While Temple resided at Brussels, Sir Thomas Clifford ‖ was admitted into the Privy Council, and

* Feb. 12. 1668, i. 335.

† Apparently, a passport to protect a Netherlands vessel from seizure or search by an English cruiser.

‡ That is, without security against carrying goods belonging to the King's enemies.

§ Antwerp, April 4. 1666.

‖ Eldest son of Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, in Devonshire. He had become a Roman Catholic before the Restoration; had distinguished himself in the naval action of June, 1665; and he was now member for Totnes. In 1667, he was a Lord of the Treasury; and, in

made Comptroller of the Household. He came in as a friend of Lord Arlington, whom Temple accordingly thus congratulates, in terms which, at no distant period, he saw occasion to change: —

"I cannot begin better than where your lordship ended your last of the 30th November, by rejoicing at Sir Thomas Clifford's good fortune, which both his own personal worth, and the part you are pleased to take in them, oblige me to in particular; nor can I doubt but it is a general satisfaction to see your lordship's friends both so well chosen and so well rewarded, which are two circumstances that become one another; for, as this may serve to keep the first a little in heart, so that, I am sure, alone can serve to keep the last in countenance." *

It is much to be lamented that there are not more of such letters as the two which follow, entirely private and miscellaneous, addressed to an intimate friend:—

" Brussels, Aug. 1666.

"My Lord †,

"I received the honour of one from your lordship, and by it the satisfaction of finding your health and good-humour continue, as well as my share in your favour and memory, which I am much concerned in. I assure your lordship, in the midst of a town and employment entertaining enough, and a life not uneasy, my imaginations run very often over the pleasures of the air, and the earth, and

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1672, Lord High Treasurer and a peer. — Collins, vii. 125. Burnet, i. 391. Hume, vii. 460.

* Dec. 17. 1666. † Lord Lisle.

the water, but much more of the conversations at Sheen; and make me believe, that if my life wears not out too soon, I may end it in a corner there, though your lordship will leave it, I know, in time, for some of those greater and nobler houses that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleasing relations you give from those softer scenes, in return of which, such as I can make you from those of business, or war, or tumult, must, I know, yield rougher entertainment; and therefore I have set them in a paper which shall pass rather for a gazette than a letter: and shall content myself only to tell your lordship, that it is hardly to be imagined the change which about three weeks past have made in the face of Holland's affairs, which are now esteemed here to be upon the point of breaking out into much such a confusion as we saw in England about 1659; nor can any thing almost be added in these parts to the reputation of his Majesty's arms and affairs; so far, that it grows a credit to be an Englishman, and not only here, but in Amsterdam itself. I am told that my Lord Stafford, who went lately thither about a process, has more hats and legs than the burgomaster of the town. I will not increase your lordship's trouble by any enlarging upon this subject. I wish I could give you some of another kind, by sending you a little Spanish mistress from hence, whose eyes might spoil your walks, and burn up all the green walks at Sheen*, and find other ways of

* Temple did not read Cowley in vain.

destroying that repose your lordship pretends alone to enjoy, in spite of the common fate of mankind. But, however your friends suffer by it, I wish it may last as long as it pleases you." *

* Brussels, Aug. 1667.

"My Lord,

"I received lately the honour of one from your lordship, which, after all complaints of slowness and dulness, had enough to bear it out, though it had been much better addressed, but needed nothing where it was, besides being yours. In my present station, I want no letters of business or news, which makes those that bring me marks of my friends' remembrance, or touches at their present thoughts and entertainments, taste much better than any thing can do that is common fare.

"I agree very much with your lordship, in being very little satisfied with the wit's excuse of employing none upon relations, as they do in France; and doubt much it is the same temper and course of thoughts among us, that makes us neither act things worth relating, nor relate things worth the reading. Whilst making some of the company laugh and others ridiculous is the game in vogue, I fear we shall hardly succeed at any other, and am sorry our courtiers should content themselves with such victories as those. I would have been glad to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death †, who stood and burnt in

* Temple, i. 254.

† Cowley died in 1667, aged 49. The Douglas here mentioned commanded the Royal Oak. (Campbell, ii. 80.) It may be doubted

one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a Douglas quitted his post without order: whether it be wise in men to do such actions or not, I am sure it is so in states to honour them; and, if they can, to turn the vein of wits to raise up the esteem of some qualities above the real value, rather than bring every thing to burlesque, which, if it be allowed at all, should only be so to wise men in their closets, and not to wits in their common work and company. But I leave them to be formed by great men's examples and humours, and know very well it is folly for a private man to touch them, which does but bring them like wasps about one's ears. However, I cannot but bewail the transitiveness of their fame, as well as other men's, when I hear Mr. Waller is turned to burlesque among them while he is alive, which never happened to old poets till many years after their death; and though I never knew him enough to adore him, as many have done, and easily believe he may be, as your lordship says,

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whether Cowley would have done him justice. The piece of that poet's writing which comes nearest to the subject, is that which he wrote "On the death of John Littleton, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Littleton, who was drowned leaping into the water to save his younger brother." This is the conclusion:—

> "Weep then, sad flood; and though thou 'rt innocent,
> Weep, because fate made thee her instrument;
> And when long grief hath drunk up all thy store,
> Come to our eyes, and we will give thee more."
>
> (Chiswick Poets, i. 137.)

With what poetical conceit the favourite poet of the Temples would have apostrophised the more splendid element in which Douglas was consumed, it is not for a mere proser to imagine.

enough out of fashion, yet I am apt to think some of the old cut-work bands were of as fine thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new points; and, at least, that all the wit he and his company spent, in heightening love and friendship, was better employed than what is laid out so prodigally by the modern wits, in the mockery of all sorts of religion and government.

"I know not how your lordship's letter has engaged me in this kind of discourses; but I know very well you will advise me after it to keep my residency here as long as I can, foretelling me what success I am likely to have among our courtiers, if I come over. The best of it is, my heart is set so much upon my little corner at Sheen, that, while I keep that, no other disappointments will be very sensible to me; and because my wife tells me she is so bold as enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer how a succession of cherries may be compassed from May till Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen sorts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to come and plant them myself this next season, but know not yet how those thoughts will hit. Though I design to stay but a month in England, yet they are here very unwilling that I should stir, as all people in adversity are jealous of being forsaken; and his Majesty is not willing to give them any discouragement, whether he gives them any assistance or no. But if they end the

campaign with any good fortune, they will be better humoured in that as well as all other points: and it seems not a very unlikely thing, the French having done nothing in six months past but harass their army, and being before Lisle, engaged in a siege which may very well break the course of their success. They have not yet made the least advance upon any of the outworks, but been beaten off with much loss in all their assaults; and if that King's design be to bring his nobility as low as he has done his people, he is in a good way, and may very well leave most of the brave among them in their trenches there.*

"Wm. Temple."

Lord Lisle's part of the correspondence may be also worth reading.

"Since I have your last letter, I have made you no acknowledgment of it: a retirement is in several respects like the night of one's life, in the obscurity and darkness, and in the sleepiness and dosedness; which I mention only to put you in mind that I am only by my posture of life apt to be failing towards you.

"What is of court or assemblies near us is at my Lord Crofts's.† Sir Thomas Ingram this summer has made no noise at all. Old Lady Devonshire‡ keeps up her parts still, and that hath been of late

* Temple, i. 283.

† William Crofts was made Lord Crofts in 1658, and died in 1677. — Collins, ix. 483. He was employed in diplomacy.

‡ Anne, daughter of William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury, and wife of William, third Earl of Devonshire. — Collins, i. 335.

Mr. Waller's * chief theatre; the assembly of wits at Mr. Comptroller's † will scarce let him in; and poor Sir John Denham ‡ is fallen to the ladies also. He is at many of the meetings at dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleased with those that seem willing to hear him; and from that obligation, exceedingly praises the Duchess of Monmouth § and my Lady Cavendish. ‖ If he had not the name of being mad, I believe in most companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He seems to have few extravagancies, besides that of telling stories of himself, which he is always inclined to. Some of his acquaintance say that extreme vanity was a cause of his madness, as well as it is an effect.

"All persons of note hereabouts are going to their winter quarters in London. The burning of the

* Edmund Waller, the well-known poet, and eulogist of Sacharissa. He was of a good family and fortune, and lived much in society. — Biog. Dict., xxx. 6.

† Sir Thomas Clifford. Why Waller was excluded from the company that was collected around this minister, we know not. His politics were now those of an obsequious courtier.

‡ Author of Cooper's Hill. He was also a man of good birth and fortune; but he lost much by gaming. The derangement of his intellect is ascribed to "some discontent arising from a second marriage;" but this letter gives reason to doubt whether he was mad enough to be confined. He did not live many months after this notice of him by Lord Lisle, dying in March, 1668. — Biog. Dict., xi. 448. Johnson overlooks this mention of Denham.

§ Anne, heiress of Buccleugh, and wife of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth.

‖ "That noble, beautiful, and virtuous lady, Mary, second daughter of James, Duke of Ormond," and wife of William Lord Cavendish, afterwards first Duke of Devonshire, the well-known Whig, and the friend of the amiable, weak, and ill-used Lord Russell. — Collins, i. 335.

city begins to be talked of as a story like that of the burning of Troy."*

At the age of thirty-eight, Temple began to complain of suffering in his eyes. He was a temperate man. His own statement of the origin of the disorder may be believed: he ascribes it to excessive use of his eyes in his business; he might probably have added, his private correspondence and miscellaneous works.†

* Sept. 26. 1667, ii. 458.
† Letter to Ormond, July 2. 1666. Bodleian.

CHAPTER XI.

TEMPLE APPOINTED AMBASSADOR AT THE HAGUE. — HIS POLITICAL DOUBTS AND OFFICIAL DIFFICULTIES. — INSTRUCTIONS. — GOES OVER. — ETIQUETTE. — CONFERENCES WITH DE WITT. — PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1668.

TEMPLE now was, or fancied himself*, "at an end of his ambition; having seen Flanders saved, as if it had been by one of those miracles the house of Austria, they say, has been used to, and the general interests of Christendom secured against the power and attempts of France, and at the same time the consideration and honour of his Majesty and his crown abroad raised to a degree it has not been in for ages past, and we had no reason to expect it should be for some ages to come, upon the decline it felt after the business at Chatham, and the peace of Breda that succeeded it."

"I returned then," he says, "from Aix to Brussels, without any other thought than continuing in that station till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly of a place I confess I love."

"I have now" he accordingly writes to Lord Arlington, "but one trouble left, and that is, what

* To Sir John Temple, July 22. 1668, i. 434.

to do with *my excellency;* for, considering how ill my time, and how well my money has past with it hitherto, I doubt no body will be persuaded to take it off my hands."*

But Temple was not permitted to lay aside the *excellency.* "I hope this" replies Lord Arlington, "will find you safely arrived at Brussels, and keeping yourself still in the same figure and equipage, to wear the better the character of *his Majesty's ambassador at the Hague,* towards which I shall send you, with all speed, his final resolution and instructions." †

He had, at the same time, permission to return to England in the interim, either directly, or through Holland, for the purpose of discoursing with De Witt, whom he was to assure of the King's persuasion that "it would serve both their turns to be very good friends." Temple's reception there shall be described in his own words: —

"Upon my arrival here, I was received both by the King and court a great deal better than I could deserve or pretend; but people seem generally pleased with the councils and negotiations in which I have had so much part since Christmas last; and I understand not courts so ill (how little soever I have been used to them), as not to know that one ought not to lose the advantage of coming home with the common opinion of some merits or good hits at one's back, if one's business be *de pousser la fortune:* and I am put enough in mind of it upon

* May 2. Sel. Let. 36. † May 8. Arl. 334.

this occasion, by several of those many new friends one would think I had at this time of day, as well as by some of my old ones: but I cannot imagine why I should pretend to have deserved more than my pay of the King, for which I served him in my late employments; and if I got honour by them, 't was so much more than I had to reckon upon. Besides, I should be sorry to ask money of him at a time when, for aught I can judge by the cry of the court, he wants it more than I do. The Spanish ambassador, and Baron d'Isola, as well as others of my friends, would needs be asking a title for me, and 't is with difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but 't is that, I am sure, I never can have a mind to, and if it should ever be offered me, I resolve it shall either begin with you, if you desire it; or, if not, with my son, which I had much rather. But, I suppose, nothing of this can happen in our court without pursuit; and so I reckon myself in all these points just where I was about six months ago, but only designed for another embassy, and no man knows how that will end."*

Sir William Temple, though a plain-dealer in his negotiations, was not quite free from mystification in his own concerns. There is in this letter an avowal of his desire to push his fortune, coupled with a disclaimer of desert, and a profession of unwillingness to receive an honourable reward.

That he should not solicit a peerage, or encourage others to ask it for him, is quite consistent with

* To Sir John Temple, Sheen, July 22. 1668, i. 435.

in royal favour, was almost openly opposed to it, and had said, in the midst of the rejoicings for the Triple Alliance, "Well, for all this noise, we must yet have another war with the Dutch before it be long." There were questions, too, pending between England and Holland, concerning the trade to the East; and Temple apprehended that the Treasury, and Sir George Downing, who had preceded Temple at the Hague, and was much opposed to De Witt, were exciting the East India Company to make demands which would not be conceded, and thus to breed a new rupture. The French, no doubt, would be unceasing in their endeavours to break the confidence between England and Holland, and would, as he feared, "have some good helps in England, that he saw already, and might have others that did not yet appear. Should these causes lead to a change, he would return to a new world here, and all the fine things he was told of might prove castles in the air."*

These apprehensions we shall presently see were not unfounded; nevertheless, with the approbation of his father and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, in whom he had great confidence, Temple accepted the appointment.

From the expressions of Lord Arlington, and the official difficulties which Temple encountered, it would appear he had by this time made some

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i. 334. Duncombe had been knighted under curious circumstances by Charles I. in Carisbrook Castle. See Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs (1813), p. 97.

* P. 439.

enemies among public men. Various grounds may be imagined for the hostility of Clifford and others of Charles's court. It may have been purely political, directed against Temple as the champion of the Dutch; it may have originated in jealousy of the favour of the King and his minister; or it may have been excited by vanity and an irritable temper: on the other hand, it may have been the homage paid by profligate politicians to an upright man. Whatever was its origin, it never left our sensitive hero quite at ease during the remainder of his political career.

Arlington was now recovering his health at Bath, and Temple had to solicit of less favourable ministers what was necessary for his despatch, and, above all, for his "equipage" or outfit. His business travelled slowly:—"I gave the Duke of Buckingham, as your lordship commanded me, the privy seal, in order to his Majesty filling up the blank for my equipage. The same morning you left the town, his grace promised me to move it that day in council, but give me my answer that day at dinner, where, in the midst of his good music, we drank to the good harmony we had been talking of before, and with the same looks and meaning. After all, he told me my business had not been moved the day before, but he would speak to the King. The next morning his grace went to Tunbridge, and is expected home this night; so that I am hitherto just as your lordship left me."*

* To Lord Arlington, London, July 18. Sel. Let. p. 52.

Temple never omitted an opportunity of finding fault with his predecessor, Downing.

"Mr. Williamson * has had great care of entertaining me well, and to that purpose has given me volumes of Sir George Downing's letters to peruse, by which, if I am at all improveable, I shall learn much, both from his style and the course of his negotiation; but my last is so ill, that what I get in this way will cost me dear. From what I have yet read I can only conclude, that if in our negotiations there we follow the same course, we cannot fail of coming to the same end; for the beginning of his disputes found them in the same jealousies of France they are now: however, the growth and sharpening of them turned the game to play quite another way from what it began.

"But now I think on't, you did not run away from us here, to have us pursue you with other cares than those of your health, which I think is as much every body's concernment at this time that loves his King and country, as it can be your own; and therefore I will end your lordship's worth here, only wish you all the good ends you propose to yourself in this adventure, as well as in all others, wherein no man alive can, I am sure, take a greater part than I."†

* Afterwards Sir Joseph. He was the son of a clergyman in Cumberland; and from a travelling tutor became keeper of state papers, and, in 1665, Under-secretary of State. He was afterwards plenipotentiary at Cologne; and, from 1674 to 1678, Secretary of State. He was member for Thetford in 1678, and President of the Royal Society. — Biog. Dict. xxxii. 136.

† P. 54.

The outfit was at last settled:—"Since my last of the 18th, the King has filled up the blank in my privy seal with the thousand pounds for my equipage, which shall content as well as if it were three; and it shall go hard if I do not bear up with it so well, as not to suffer his Majesty's present parsimony to be seen abroad, which ought to be avoided as far as can be, however it be felt at home." *

But now that he was, however scantily, equipped, our ambassador could get no instructions:—"It will be a trouble to me, if not an inconvenience to the business, if I part without seeing your lordship again, and receiving some instructions upon those points which will first fall in discourse, at least between me and M. De Witt at my arrival, which are,—concerning the States' interposition in the business of Denmark; the means of satisfying Sweden, in case Spain continues obstinate not to do it in the way and manner agreed; what general answer, at least, about the *pavillon;* how far, how soon, and how warmly, to pursue the proposals of the East India Company and changes of the marine treaty; and especially, what measures between us to agree upon, in case France pursues the new intentions in Flanders, by any other way than that of arbitration. . . . . I confess that my opinion is, that if the French offer to innovate any thing in Flanders, I ought to go the very next day into Holland, though without any train or in-

* London, July 21. Sel. Let. 55.

struction: if they continue quiet, and secure this pretension only to leave the way open for the success of their negotiations with us and Holland, and pursue it accordingly, then I think it were better I could see my instructions digested before I went. But I shall obey the King in what he thinks fit, so soon as the commissioners despatch me. I have discoursed with his Majesty at large since my last, and have reason from it to believe both his inclinations and resolutions upon these subjects just what I wished them, and what I am sure will be most for his service."*

As no instructions arrived, he resolved to consult the Lord Keeper; with the King's leave, he went down to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, at Tunbridge. "I past that evening, and all the next day, with his lordship, and am sure you had the greatest share of any person in our conversation, and might very well allow us to say all the ill we did of your lordship, and to wish that more had heard all we said upon that subject."

The Lord Keeper advised him to prepare instructions for himself; this Temple did, and sent his draft to Lord Arlington, with a special request, which shews how anxious he was that his part in the transaction might not be known to the other ministers, or the subordinates in office:—"I beg your lordship, that you would burn the papers I writ, that they may be sure to fall under no eyes but your lordship's; for which I have some particulars, besides the more occurring reasons."†

* July 21. Sel. Let. 56.

† July 25. Sel. Let. 57.

This anxiety was apparently not unfounded. Temple had enemies at work, who perhaps had an equal dislike of his person and his policy.

"After I had taken leave," he writes, "of my Lord Keeper, about eleven last night, he sent me a letter just arrived from Mr. Williamson, with a declaration of the King's pleasure to me to go forthwith into Holland, without losing a day. This being the very day after I parted from town with the King's approbation, and without any new circumstances to occasion it, very much surprised me, and, to say truth, I interpreted it to come from some of my good friends here, who, having altered the form of my privy seal in many parts, to my disadvantage, differently from the warrant the King signed before your lordship went, and after having delayed the payment, and even the warrants for about four hundred pounds of what was due to me upon my old service, and forborn to give any issue to the Munster accounts, had a mind to hurry me away, without time to complain or seek redress in those particulars which his Majesty had promised me, and your lordship and my Lord Keeper thought reasonable to be performed; and I believe they intended me the advantage, by this haste in your lordship's absence, of being cast wholly into secretary Morice's * hands, both for my instructions and correspondence. For the first part I shall not trouble your lordship, being by accident arrived

* Sir William Morice, of a good Cornish family, was Secretary of State from the Restoration to September, 1668.

here too late to inform myself more particularly of those matters, or to see the King, or any one else, to know the occasion of his Majesty's signifying his pleasure to me in so hasty a manner. For the last, I shall only say, that if your lordship tells me you are weary of the trouble my correspondence has given you, and wish it, for that reason, to be cast into the other channel, I shall, upon your consideration, obey you in this one employment; but if your lordship will not own, that I will very freely tell the King himself, that, for my own part, I shall extreme willingly quit my employment, if, against your intentions as well as mine, he be induced to deny me the honour, and his affairs (in this negotiation, I am sure, I may say it) the advantage of continuing your lordship's correspondence. It was that gave me both birth and all my growth in my whole negotiation; and, when you have no more to do with me, I am very well content you should leave me where you found me." *

But Arlington had not, or did not exert, influence enough to make Temple easy upon pecuniary matters, and the new ambassador found himself obliged to suppress his feelings, even of hospitality and gratitude:—"I received your commands concerning Mr. Povey's nephew, and shall obey them as far as the severity of the commissioners towards me will give me leave; that is, I have told his uncle that, if he orders him to come to me at my arrival, he shall be as welcome as my house can make him,

* July 25. Sel. Let. 57.

and I shall give him all the acquaintance with business which he is willing to make, and endeavour to improve it that way. I find but to keep two secretaries will be inconsistent with what train I must cast my family into upon the commissioners' resolution, both as to my allowance, and cutting off the advantage of three months' advance, and excluding the payment of postage of letters, which are rigours that appear to me so mean, that I should think them malicious if they came not from my friends. But I have digested them, since you think it fit, and, the thousand pounds being, as they tell me, ready, shall be gone, as I ever promised the King, within three days after my despatch, and shall bear patiently the loss of near a hundred pounds out of my own purse, in Exchequer fees, imposed by Sir George Downing*, upon the money my journey to Aix cost me, and the interest of the money together, which his Majesty commanded me to take up. And beside the charge I have been at from the 12th of June to my parting from hence, both in Holland and here, with a numerous family, which the King commanded me not to lessen upon intention of my embassage to Holland, and your lordship intended should be satisfied with any new entertainment beginning where my old one ended, or at least near it. But men of more power, or at least more will, have thought it otherwise fit, and let them go away with it."†

* Who held an office in the Exchequer or Treasury.
† London, July 28. Sel. Let. 60.

This valedictory letter concluded with a passage, which evinces much diffidence, certainly not ill-founded, of the firmness of his hold upon the Court of Charles II.

"I have one suit to make to your lordship before I go, and that is, whenever you find yourself inclined to receive a worse opinion of me in any state than you had at our parting, from the impressions of such as you take to be either my friends or my enemies, that you will immediately and freely tell me of it, and I will tell your lordship freely whether I deserve it, and never use any disguise to you, not so much as to deserve your friendship, which is the greatest expression I can possibly make of that sincerity and plainness which have ever been natural to me. I have perhaps some reason to make you this request, and to fear the envy of your lordship's kindness as much as the malice of it. And so I wish your lordship, with all my soul, a continuance of your good health and humour, and a succession of your good fortune in all you propose to yourself, and that you may, in the course of them, often meet with men that love and esteem your person (abstracted from your character) in the same degree, and with the same unfeigned passion, as myself." *

Sir Orlando Bridgeman† endeavoured to reconcile Temple to the summary direction which he had received for an immediate departure, assuring him that it originated in a sense of the importance

* July 28. Sel. Let. 60.
† July 26., i. 495.

of his mission. Temple, moreover, at last received his instructions, which were, apparently, not much altered from his own draft. They enjoined him — to assure the States General of his master's resolution to preserve the Triple Alliance; to arrange the guaranties to be given to Spain and Sweden, and the concert* of forces. He was specially instructed to assure De Witt of the King's confidence in him, and to settle with him the mode of negotiating upon commercial matters. He was to watch the proceedings of France, to forward the stipulated supply of money from Spain to Sweden, and to consult with the States as to an eventual advance from England and Holland jointly, in case of need. He was to consult also on the admission of any of the Swiss cantons, or Protestant princes of Germany, into the alliance. He was to endeavour to waive the question concerning the right of the *flag*, especially as the Dutch had signified their readiness to conform to ancient usage. He was to pay great attention to the Prince of Orange, and to give him precedence as a grandson of England; and, moreover, to communicate with De Witt as to the settlement of the Prince's private affairs; but not to give precedence to any ambassador. The affairs of the Guinea companies, and the disputes between Portugal and the Dutch, were also recommended to his attention.†

* The proposed treaty for the co-operation of the several allies, in the event of a war, acquired this designation.

† Aug. 10. 1668. Longe Papers, vol. i. So far as can be ascertained, these instructions were conformable to Temple's draft, except in the matters of *etiquette*. — Appendix B.

Thus instructed, Temple arrived at Rotterdam at the end of August, 1668, and proceeded to Ryswick, that, "by the neighbourhood of the Hague, he might be there and not be there as he pleased."* He prepared to see De Witt without delay, but in the mean time addressed to Lord Arlington what he styles "this empty letter†," which, in truth, though it treats of a small matter, contains much that is illustrative of Temple's notions as a diplomatist and a statesman.

In the seventeenth century, and especially in the days of Louis XIV., whose main object it was that his power and pre-eminence should be every where acknowledged, diplomatists were constantly embarrassed by questions of precedence and etiquette. Temple, though fond of praise, and stoutly tenacious of his country's honour, had no anxiety upon these subjects; but he could not avoid them.

Some of the powers of Europe, with which the representative of England had necessary intercourse, were represented at the Hague by ministers of a diplomatic rank inferior to that with which Temple was clothed; and his communication, for instance, with the envoy of his master's new ally, Sweden, was impeded by some newly adopted rules of etiquette, which forbade his giving to envoys the compliments of the *hand* and *door*.‡

* Ryswick, Aug. 28. Sel. Let. 63.
† Ib.
‡ That is, giving them the right hand in his own house, and accompanying them to the door.

At Aix he had been permitted and enjoined to form his meetings so as to avoid all competitions and rivalships for place, and to apply for the mediation of the ambassador of republican Holland, because he could never come into the competition. But, at the Hague, he was compelled to assume all the stiffness and grandeur of the King's immediate representative.

These difficulties produced the letter* which follows: —

"I am every day more and more of the opinion that I had reasons to tell your lordship, that the King had spoiled a good resident to make an ill ambassador; and that the *embarras* that attends that character would break my head too much, and leave it indisposed for that little orderly train of thoughts it has been used to. This I am sure of, that if I may not have leave to skulk up and down *incognito*, to dive and rise again where and in what fashion I please or find convenient, I shall never be able to do my business, and live my own life; and nobody can live another's. And yet I know not whether a wiser man than I may not take occasion to call such a way of living a wrong to my character, and want of bearing up the King's honour; though, whenever I pretend to appear, I will do it as great as I can upon that consideration, and be as stiff upon all points of precedence that can enter into dispute as if I affected it. But *I hope his Majesty is resolved to be great*

* To Lord Arlington. Aug. 28.

IN EFFECT, *and then his ministers cannot lessen him any more than all their punctilios can make him great, if he be not really so in the considerations of his neighbours as well as his subjects.* One thing which brought all this into my head at a time, and desirous to know his Majesty's conceptions upon it, is a difficulty I foresee in treating a meeting with the Swedish resident at the Hague, or the minister that I hear is there from the cantons, or the Emperor's resident, with some of whom it will be absolutely necessary for me to enter into commerce. For his Majesty, I remember, at the Foreign Committee, seemed disposed to have me go as high as the French ambassador, upon those disputes between ambassadors and other ministers; and he, I am told, has refused all expedients* of meeting them, because that would seem to bring the matter in question, and his orders are positively to have it yielded. And I remember he excused himself from my offer of seeing him a-bed. So I am told he has never yet met with any of them, not so much as in a third place, by appointment.

"Now I confess I should be apt, if my business required it and expedients failed, to go to any of them *incognito* to their own houses, and tell them plainly I would see them there, since these difficulties, which had not been raised by either my master or he, hindered me from seeing them at mine; or else, make an appointment at third

* Temple's draft of the instructions contemplated such expedients.

places, or parties, of going abroad together in their coaches, if I must not give them the civility in mine. Upon all which, in general at least, I should be extremely glad your lordship would, by his Majesty's order, let me know his thoughts. I find by this letter you are on all occasions like to know enough of mine to be weary of them, unless you can excuse them upon that constant devotion and truth wherewith I have been so long, and shall be always yours."

This great matter was deliberated in the Privy Council of England, and the result was, an order in council, enforcing the strict rule.* Temple acquiesced reluctantly. "I think it is better to let it rest as it is, than for your lordship to move any farther in it, and *be content we should follow, since we are not at present of a humour to lead.* I think I could order it so, as Spain, and Sweden, and this state should alter the custom by consent with us; but that which I wished was, that *his Majesty might have said, singly,* HE *would follow no other prince's rules but the old ones which he had used,* and seemed to approve, by Sir George Downing's demands, and so given me order at my first coming to give the hand and door, as all ambassadors did till the French caprice changed it about eight years ago; and this I took to be of more honour as well as advantage to his Majesty: but it seems I did not understand it right: it may be others would have understood it

* Arlington. Aug. 28., p. 345.; and Order in Council, Appendix D.

so too if they had seen both Sweden and these states, and all others except France, follow his Majesty's example, which I could have held a fair wager of, and is every body's opinion here, as it is many people's, that France itself would have fallen in too, upon the advantage in commerce with other ministers which would have followed it: for if I had given it, not one resident would have ever seen the French ambassador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am sure, if France understand it right, they will take an occasion to change it themselves, and to reap the first profit, and all the honour as well as pleasure of seeing us all dance after them both up and down, as our leaders in a country dance, and I am sure I had as lieve be lame as do so; and cannot tell why his Majesty should not think of being at the head both of the affairs and forms of Christendom, as well as any of his neighbouring kings."*

The intercourse of Sir William Temple with the Pensionary De Witt, is a remarkable passage in his life, and a circumstance of no mean importance in the history of Europe. This consideration gives an interest to the detailed account which he gives of his first interview in the character of ambassador; and the narrative† would be pleasing, from its simplicity and truth, even though the subject had less interest:—

"The day of my arrival in this place I sent to

* To Lord Keeper. Oct. 2. 1668. ii. 14.
† Ryswick, Aug. 30. 1668. Sel. Let. 66.

advise M. De Witt of it, and to let him know, that though I yet owned my being here to none else, yet I could not omit doing it to him, nor satisfy myself without seeing him that evening at his house, as soon as it grew dark, if it would be no inconvenience to him. I desired he would use no ceremony with me upon the point of the first visit, for he could not see me here, and I would visit him like an old friend, and not like a new ambassador. He returned me a compliment on my arrival, and said he was upon the point of writing to me; but since I would have it so, he would attend me at his own house, about my own time.

"I went accordingly with one servant in a hackney coach, and we met with all signs of satisfaction on both sides. I told him that though the King commanded me hither, yet I might truly lay my whole journey to his charge, and that without the consideration of his friendship for me, his Majesty would have found some fitter person for the employment, and that without the advantage I expected from it in the whole course of my business, I myself would never have engaged in it, but contented myself with some other post of less honour and more ease, and more suitable to my humour. He told me he had heard the King had told their ambassadors, that he found there was a friendship between us two, and, therefore, would think of no other person but me to send over; that he was obliged to his Majesty for such a consideration; that he hoped it would succeed well; that God had blessed us hitherto in all

we had treated, and that, proceeding with the same *franchise* and good intentions, he doubted not he would do so still.

"Upon this I made him the compliment from his Majesty, as near as I could, in the very words of my instructions, which he seemed to take very well, and said it was very obliging from so great a prince. That he knew his Majesty had a better opinion of him now than formerly; that he believed he owed the first impressions of it wholly to my report, but hoped he had increased it by the sincerity of his proceedings; that the King should not be deceived in him; that we had now little need of one another, but no man knew how affairs might change; that in case they did so, as to give us any need of the States, his Majesty should find he had made a good alliance, and with a state, that, though it could not act with that suddenness and absoluteness that a king might, yet made up that defect at least by firmness and constancy to what they undertook or engaged. And that, in case this state should fall into any troubles or wars, he doubted not but they should find the same measures and good performances from his Majesty.

"I assured him he had all the reason that could be to believe it, and it was a great part of my errand here to give the States all the testimonies that I could, especially at the time that all the world was full of M. Colbert's coming into England with the offers of all the advantages that could be, to tempt his Majesty into other and new

alliances. He said, 't was very well, and he was glad to see that France used so much art, and took so much pains to court both us and Holland: that it was the best mark they could give of considering us, and perhaps of fearing us: that he believed they would put all their present endeavours upon dividing us, and play their game with Spain as that succeeded; but he believed our union too well grounded to be shaken; and had received all the appearances of it that could be, by the account their ambassador gave of the King's disposition and firmness in it, and of the ministers that were now in credit.

"Upon this he told me that he feared, by my looks and speaking, that I was not well: I confessed it, and that I should not have stirred out upon any other occasion than to see him. He said I did ill, and there was no haste now, as there had been my last journey; that he knew nothing that pressed between us so as to neglect my health. Upon which I said I thought so too, unless he knew more than I did of any thing new like to arise suddenly in the affairs of Flanders, which his Majesty thought deserved the continuance of our joint offices and care for preserving the peace.

"He said he believed not, and that the winter came on too fast to leave any thoughts of new action this season. That M. Van Beuninghen pressed all he could to have the matters referred to arbitration, according to the articles of the Pyrenean treaty*: that France did not absolutely re-

* Dumont, vi. part ii. p. 264.

fuse, but said they were at least to end in that, and not to begin, nor could it be seen whether that would need, till they found whether commissioners on both sides agreed or no: that, for the present, all we could do (and that he desired me to join in) was, to press the Marquis to appoint commissioners to meet those of the French for determining the limits. This I promised; so that matter ended.

"I told him, before I went away, I must deliver a letter from *un bon ami, et qui lui faisoit la justice de l'estime ce qu'il méritoit*, and named your lordship. He took it, and at your name checking himself into a more serious face (which is his manner when he seems to be attent upon any thing he hears or says), before he opened your letter, he told me, *C'est une personne que j'estime beaucoup, et je vous assure que le roi est bien heureux d'avoir trouvé un tel ministre; on nous dit tant de son sincerité et bon sens, et aussi de son affection à nos alliances, que nous avons toute la raison du monde de nous louer de lui, et nos ambassadeurs le font sur toutes occasions; et j'espère que le roi n'aura plus sujet de changer de main.* I told him your lordship valued yourself upon being a good servant, and not *sur le ministère*, which the King had divided into several channels, reserving the direction of all to himself; and that he found himself so well in this court, that they had no reason to doubt he would change it. He took occasion from this to speak of my Lord Keeper with much esteem, and I need say nothing upon my own part upon this subject: you will easily believe it was to say all

the ill of both your lordships that I could, and so it past.

"I asked him whether the Prince was in town; he said he was, and that he had been long with him that morning. I told him the King had commanded me to tell him how well he took the expressions of kindness he had made to the person of the Prince, and that he hoped he would express it in some particular care of his private affairs, which his Majesty heard were running to ruin. He said, they were in ill condition, but he thought not so bad as they were said to be: that he had that very morning been instructing him in the business of the finances of this state, as his course was to go over all the matters that concerned this government, and the knowledge thereof would be necessary to make him fit for the service of his country; that he had taken occasion likewise to put him in mind of his own particular revenue, and hoped he would fall into the care of it. He would not confess to know any thing of the Princess Dowager's thoughts to lay down the *tutele*. I told him I had several letters for the Prince, and desired his opinion, whether it was not fit to deliver them as soon as I could. He said, by all means. I told him the King had commanded me to live with the Prince as his nephew, and a grandchild of England; and, upon that respect, by Order of Council*, I was to give him precedence on all occasions, and at least to make up in respect whatever wanted in

* See Wicquefort, B. i. ch. ii. p. 201.; and Order in Council, Appendix D.

more material offices. That, upon this subject, I would tell him, once for all, that I would rather quit my employment than live with any constraint upon that point; that I would desire him to protect me in it, among any jealous or exceptious persons that might be among the States, and might be shocked at my frequent conversations with the Prince, in case it should grow between us; that I would assure him the direct instruction the King had given me concerning him was, to inspire into him the desire and value of supporting himself wholly upon the affections and good-will of the States, and not upon any private factions. And that, for my own part, I would make good my word to him, that neither in this nor any thing else, I would not be the man to deceive them. He told me it was very wise in the King, and he firmly believed I would not deceive them, though I might do it easier than another, for no minister ever came to the States *avec un plus grand préjugé*, which being commonly taken in the worst sense, is all I shall repeat that was personal in this conversation. I would not lengthen it, or *faire l'empresse*, by entering further into any particular matters the first time, finding he thought there was nothing that pressed, and believing all was sound. The next time, I shall fall upon the points of the Swedish satisfaction, the guaranties of the peace, and the Guinea Company, for he told me, whether I make the public entry and audience suddenly or no, we could treat together of any business as well as if the ceremony were past. I am more particular

than perhaps I needed upon this account, that your lordship may be so too in your remarks upon it; and because I would be glad to know whether his Majesty approves of my manner in my setting out, both from what he found in my last letter, and in this; for, if he does, it will be easy for me to go the same train without asking further directions; or, if there be any thing I must alter, it may be better now than later."

The acquaintance between Temple and William, the future King of England, though less important in a political point of view, is a considerable circumstance in our biography.

"Yesterday morning," continues Temple, "I sent my compliments to the Prince, and desired an hour of waiting upon him; he excused it that day, on account of his being just ready to go a hunting, and desired it might be at five this afternoon, because he thought about that time he should be alone.

"At noon, the master of the ceremonies (or rather, I think, some other title they have for it) came to me from the States, with a large compliment upon my arrival, and an offer, if desired, to remain any time incognito at the Hague before my entry: that I would come freely into the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs, though it was not usual before that ceremony was past, and that afterwards I would make use of it as long as I pleased, till I found a house fit for me. I gave them my thanks, and excused my not having given them advice of my coming, and accepted the offer of their house,

where I think to go late in the evening, and then make all visits incognito, as much as if my audience of entry were passed, for which I am, as far as I can, bringing all pieces together."*

There was nothing remarkable in his interview with the Prince, whom he found "much improved since last winter;" and who with difficulty accepted the honours which the English ambassador was instructed to pay him.† Temple was cautioned not to let the Prince's "courtesy overrule the order" he had received.‡

Subsequent letters illustrate Temple's opinion of the Prince, upon a further acquaintance.

"Upon Tuesday very late, the Prince returned to this place, so privately, that I knew nothing of it till the next afternoon, and then sent to welcome him, and to desire a time of waiting on him, which was given me the next day. I found no man with him but M. De Witt, who immediately went out as I came in, only saluting me very kindly, and saying he was very glad to leave the Prince in so good hands. I performed my ceremonies according to my orders, though with much defence on the Prince's side, saying still, he knew what he owed to an ambassador of the King's. I was with him long and alone, which, I believe, I owed rather to M. De Witt than his governor, who had ever been very diligent before in all our encounters, and to say truth, had good grace on the Pensioner's

* Aug. 30. Sel. Let. 71.
† Aug. 31. Sel. Let. 73.
‡ Arlington, Aug. 28. 1668, p. 345. Wicquefort, p. 201.

side; and I hope to live well with them both, employing it, as I have told each of them I will, to increase the Prince's confidence in the person of M. De Witt, and his of the Prince; and both endeavoured, while I am here, to do the Prince all such good offices with the states of Holland as may stand with the constitution of their government, and dispose the Prince to think his greatest advantage consists in the united affections of this commonwealth. And in this delicate pace* I am fallen upon, this is all the fineness I can find out to trust to, since I am of opinion it is neither the King's business nor the Prince's to embroil things here if they could; for if the Prince had need of a motto he would be known by on any public occasion, and would employ me to make one he thought fittest for his affairs, it should be *Potius inservire patriæ liberæ quam dominari servienti.*"†

Again, "I find him in earnest a most extreme hopeful Prince, and to speak more plainly, something much better than I expected, and a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of wit which is neither of use to one's self nor to any body else, but in good plain sense, with show of application if he had business that deserved it, and that with extreme good agreeable humour and dispositions; and thus far of his way without any vice. Besides, being sleepy always by ten o'clock at night, and

* Temple often uses this word with the meaning (or nearly so) of the French *pas*.

† Hague, Oct. 12. Sel. Let. p. 83.

loving hunting as much as he hates swearing, and preferring Cock ale before any sort of wine. I thought it not impertinent at once to give you his picture, which the little lines are to make like rather than the great ones, and the rather because your lordship, I remember, was inquiring after it, when I could not give it but very imperfectly. His person, I think you know, is very good, and has much of the princess in it; and *never any body raved so much after England, as well the language as all else that belonged to it.*"*

As for De Witt, while the government expressed their satisfaction at his friendly tone, they fairly observed, that the connection would not be sufficiently cemented, until all points were adjusted as to the marine treaty, and the payment of the money by Spain to Sweden. A fresh instruction was given to Temple, in which we perceive the beginning of those extensive and varied negotiations concerning Spain, which led ultimately to the Succession War, and the peace of Utrecht: — "If you have not done it already, I pray take the first occasion to engage De Witt upon the discussion of what plea the States will take, in case the King of Spain dies, which would certainly change the face of all the affairs of Christendom; and, by the report of his weak constitution, is not unlikely to happen. And be not content with a superficial answer from him relating to the league, but press him to say what were further to be wished by us in common in such a case." †

* Hague, Feb. 3. 1669. Sel. Let. p. 110. † Arl. 346.

CHAPTER XII.

DISCUSSIONS. — MARINE TREATY. — TEMPLE'S PUBLIC ENTRY. HIS SPEECH. — SPECULATIONS. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN AND SWEDEN ON THE GUARANTY AND SUBSIDY. — D'ISOLA THE AUSTRIAN MINISTER. — TRIPLE ALLIANCE IN DANGER.

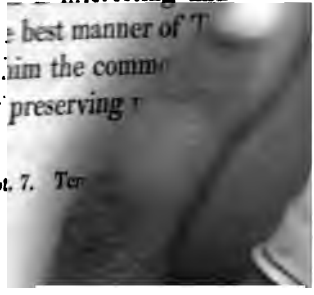
1668 – 1669.

THE ambassador now commenced his regular discussions with the Dutch minister.

With a view to the conciliation which he so much desired, it was important to remove the causes of discontent which existed in matters of trade and maritime rights.

Among these were the pretensions of the Dutch in reference to the East Indian seas, which, according to our East India Company, tended to exclude from these seas the commerce of all European nations. The particulars of these disputes are complicated and uninteresting*, nor did Temple ascribe much importance to them, except as they were connected with the larger questions of policy. According to him, "the noise made about the marine treaty," and the insinuation, that nothing but subtilty and injustice could be

* For some particulars see Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, ii. 197, &c.



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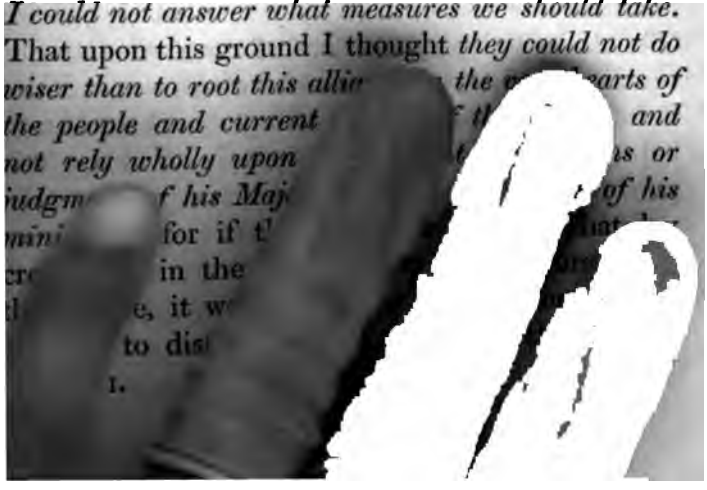
present alliances between us, especially on their side, while the dangers were so great from the ambition and power, as well as the neighbourhood, of France: that great overtures would now be made us from thence to the prejudice of this alliance, and at all other times whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them. That though I could give him no jealousy of them now, but on the contrary assure him he might be at ease on that side, and that the King would only have the honour by it of setting them an example of his sincereness and constancy, which he would expect they would follow when the game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him;* yet I would tell him that *France was at all times capable of making us such offers, and of giving us our present account so well, though in exchange perhaps of danger to come (in case of no new revolutions), that whenever there should be in England a Prince less direct or less foreseeing than his Majesty, or either a weak or corruptible ministry, I could not answer what measures we should take.* That upon this ground I thought *they could not do wiser than to root this allie the parts of the people and current and not rely wholly upon as or judgm f his Maj of his mini for if t cr in the e, it w to dis



concur with the dispositions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great noise in the world.

"I told him that many persons in England, either to make way for the French alliance, by weakening or breaking this, or else, perhaps, to discredit the most applauded counsels of the present ministry, had made a noise about the marine treaty as if it had been a ruining the nation, and, from thence took occasion to infuse into all people, as far as they could, that we should never find any fairness, or directness, or equality, in all we treated with the Dutch; but subtility and hardship and injustice, and when the occasion was, obstinacy and injury, in all matters of commerce between us, while we gave them reason to believe we thought their friendship necessary, or very convenient to us. That I had, ever since I knew him, maintained the contrary to his Majesty, assured him of the sincerity I had found in their proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his Majesty should find them ever reasonable and easy in what should be offered, in reducing matters of commerce to an equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a small matter, that all my credit and, perhaps, fortune, lay at stake upon his making this good: but I am sure it was considerable* that the very safety of our alliance might, at one time or other, come to lie at stake upon it too. And, therefore, for my part, I thought they could not do in

* This word is used for "worthy of consideration."

the world a wiser thing than to give us all reasonable satisfaction in these points, by consenting to any *réglemens* of commerce which might import equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any equality itself would be the same advantage to them, that a long arm against a short could be between two men with equal swords; for, considering their parsimony, industry, necessity of turning all their stock to trade, for want of land and multitude of people; and, on the other side, *our native luxury, want of order or application, and our extent and cheapness of land, and ease of taxes*, which made people choose to turn their money that way, they could never fail of advantage enough in any equality, and upon it would find the surest, the most commodious ally, and the best able to protect them that they could have in the world; being without any ambition or design among our neighbours, further than to keep the balance of Christendom; and yet, on the other side, the only power that was feared by France, and that were able, in conjunction of our fleets with theirs, to awe them by what they might suffer from sea into some consideration of what was fit for them to act by land."

It is scarcely possible, but that, when Temple alluded to the dangers to arise under a less direct and foreseeing king than his own master, he well knew that the danger was already great under Charles II. But, holding a strong opinion of the policy of the alliance, and instructed to maintain it, he did wisely in endeavouring to instil confi-

dence into the Dutch minister: by persuading him to do his part, in removing all reasonable grounds of jealousy, he might make it difficult for a perfidious king to depart from the alliance. The English had gone with great heat into the first Dutch war: perhaps, if Holland could have been persuaded into a more conciliatory policy, in matters commercial and colonial, it might have been more difficult for France to drive England into the second. The arguments by which Temple sought to produce this conciliatory policy were ingenious, though some of them have ceased to be applicable to the relative state of England and Holland. The traders and manufacturers of England would not now acknowledge an inferiority in enterprise or "application;" nor would our possessors of capital admit, that they are induced to turn it to agriculture by the cheapness of land, and the *lightness of the taxes.*

Nor, indeed, was it quite true, when Temple held this conversation with De Witt, that the Dutch would necessarily derive the greater advantage from an equal settlement of the questions then pending. The question concerning the rights and obligations of neutrality, as De Witt clearly saw, though some of his successors have not seen it, only required perfect reciprocity in the settlement, to be equally advantageous to both parties. The pretensions of the Dutch in the East we resisted; and offered nothing in return. Still, it was fair in an English minister thus to argue these points, and Temple did argue them with skill and judgment.

Temple's representation of our political system was more correct at the time, and is just even now. It is still generally true that we only meddle with the affairs of Europe with the view of adjusting the balance of power, and that a union of the maritime powers may have much influence in preventing aggression on the Continent.—We proceed with Temple's narrative:—"During this discourse, which I enlarged the most I could to the purpose, resolving to bend all my force upon the effect of it, I found M. De Witt very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with marks in his countenance of relishing, and, as I thought, approving what I said, which made me resolve to go one point further, and to the root of all that could spring into any jealousies between us. I told him it was true that there wanted not some among us, that would be so wise to know, that it was impossible for us ever to fall into any firm confidence with the States upon their present constitution, nor particularly with him, upon the Prince of Orange's occasion. For my part, I was not at all of that mind; that though the king could not lose the affection he had for his nephew, yet he was of opinion he could not express it better than by infusing into him the belief, that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good-will of the States, and trusting wholly to them in the course of his fortunes, and not to private factions, or to foreign intrigues and applications. That *his Majesty was of an opinion himself, that princes were not apt to do themselves more hurt, and make them-*

seized less any way, than by affecting too much power, or such as was directly contrary to the stomach and genius of the country which fell to their share; and, besides this, I knew his Majesty was so just and so reasonable, that though he should take kindly of the States any respect they should shew his nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any king, or state, which he should not take well that any other should offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any such designs by his council, or his people's inclinations. For they, who looked upon the Prince in a possibility of one day coming to be their king, and that loved a Prince who grounded his power in the affections of his people, and loved to rule by laws, had rather perhaps see the Prince of Orange happy in the good-will of the States, and such moderate power as they should think consistent with their government, than of a humour that aims at any thing that might tend to subvert their civil constitutions: so that I saw nothing but danger to them upon this chapter, either from the judgment and disposition of his Majesty, or the humour of the nation; but was confident, in case we could agree upon matters of commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an alliance that was so useful to ourselves, and all Christendom besides. And so I left it with him." *

There are in this extract, again, passages which we know not whether to trace to simplicity, or to

* Sept. 7. 1668, ii. 2—12.

diplomacy. Did Temple really believe that his master entertained the liberal sentiments which he here ascribes to him? Temple's character allows us to believe, that he might have been himself deceived in that of Charles*; but it is perhaps more probable that he represented his own sentiments: knowing them to be consonant with those of his countrymen in general, and if not deeply felt, certainly not disavowed by his court, he did well to display them. His efforts at conciliation were apparently successful: —

"Upon this discourse," in which Temple assuredly displayed much judgment, "M. De Witt, with very great signs of satisfaction, told me that all I said was reasonable, — that he agreed with me perfectly in it; and upon that said a great deal of the sympathy he had ever observed between us, and how easy that would ever make any thing we should fall in treaty of. That he knew from M. Meerman I had been the occasion of giving him any credit in England of an honest sincere man, and he would never lose mine upon that occasion by giving the King cause to believe other of him." De Witt then expressed himself ready to concur in any amendment of the marine treaty that should be reciprocal in its stipulations, and declared his own determination to continue firm in the alliance, "which the States had sucked in like milk; which had already passed into the very very flesh and substance of the body: we might

* See Fox's observations, in his history, p. 26.

be the more confident of it, since the minister they employed in France*, and through whose hands all such matters must pass, and be represented to the States by the lights he should give them, was as firm and earnest upon it as any man could be: that he knew France would try them as well as us, and would not say but they might possibly gain some one of the little provinces; but for Holland in particular, and the provinces in general, it was not a thing to be thought on." He expressed much satisfaction at what was said of the Prince of Orange, whom the States, he said, intended to make Captain-general of the forces, and Admiral.† They did not like to unite the civil and military charges by making him Stadtholder. "For his part," said this celebrated republican, "*if he had been born under a king, he never would have consented to what his ancestors did towards the King of Spain;* but, being born under a commonwealth, and sworn to maintain it, he could consent to nothing that should destroy it; and he wondered how it had subsisted so long in that danger; which was to be attributed to their constant wars abroad, and to the great moderation of those princes, among whom none had thoughts of it but the last‡; nor would he ever have fallen in with

* Van Beuninghen.

† There is no point in which those who ascribe insincerity to De Witt have better grounds than in this of the Prince of Orange. See Boyer, p. 96.; and the summary given by Mr. Trevor in his Life of King William, just published.

‡ William II., who married the Princess Mary of England, daughter of Charles I.

them without having been put upon them by the French, who had his breeding and education; that if he had lived, he would have been the ablest of all the race: and from thence fell into commendations of this young Prince's parts and dispositions; and so this matter ended."

Upon all these important points, the conduct of the new ambassador was entirely approved:—"His Majesty has this day with great attention read over yours of the 7th, and so has his grace the Duke of Buckingham, both applauding your ability and skill, for having so sufficiently and so seasonably sounded the mind of M. De Witt, which we cannot but now think is what we wish it should be, and that there will be no difficulty made of giving us satisfaction in our marine treaty."*

Again, in reference to commercial matters:—"I must defer till the next," says Lord Arlington, "what I have to say, unless it be to tell you you how infinitely well I am satisfied in your negotiations, the report of which has already gotten wind, much to your advantage. Go on, therefore, and make good these beginnings, and once more, if it be possible, get the whole matter referred to commissioners. I will discourse with my Lord Keeper, whether it will be practicable to get them confined to keep within the bounds of the matter that shall be agreed upon beforehand."†

Temple could not persuade De Witt to refer all these points to commissioners,—a proposition pro-

* Lord Arlington, Sept. 1., p. 347. † Sept. 11. Arl. 348.

bably made by Arlington, in order to get rid of a troublesome discussion. The Dutch minister knew well that he himself understood the whole matter, and had no mind to transfer it to others, probably to commercial men. The answer to Temple's renewed application* for definite instructions, is candid and curious: —

"After reading your letter this day to my Lord Keeper and my Lord Duke of Buckingham, we fell into the debate of the point, whether we should have commissioners or no. My Lord Keeper then persists in the negative: my Lord Duke says, *it is of advantage to the ministry to have the matter past by commissioners, but of prejudice to the public service.* I myself, I confess, do waver more and more in my own opinion than formerly I did. I see plainly how much it imports me to maintain the affirmative, and how hard it would be to please the world in declining the way both the treaties of Breda and the Hague have prescribed for their satisfaction. And yet, to bring the matter cut and dried to commissioners' hands, with a declaration on both sides that they shall not vary from it, will, I fear, expose the matter, and the way, too, to equal obloquy, which argument of mine, the Lord Keeper says, fortifies his the more in his opinion than all his own."†

Buckingham, a politician in the least reputable sense of the word, saw and avowed the advantage which ministers would obtain, by delegating

* In a letter of Sept. 21. 1668. Sel. Let. 74.
† Sept. 14. Arl. 349.

to others, under the still specious name of commissioners, that which it was their own duty to understand and perform, in reference to a subject of popular excitement. Bridgeman, a sensible and plain-dealing man, while he apparently thought with Buckingham, that the matter would be best done by the government, shrunk from the obloquy which would attend the popular measure of a reference, if the commissioners were not to have a free judgment. And Arlington, whose acuteness furnished this powerful argument to Bridgeman, yet wavered, through his native weakness, in acting upon his own views.

The King, it would seem, soon afterwards decided for the reference of certain points * to commissioners; but this decision was neglected or forgotten, amidst greater matters. Temple and De Witt continued to discuss the points of the marine treaty, which were in dispute between the East India Companies; but the expedients upon which they concurred were equally unacceptable in London and in Amsterdam, while the exceptions which De Witt made to what was proposed from England seemed to Temple so reasonable, that he desired to be furnished with arguments to maintain the points against him, if they must be insisted upon, for he confessed he could find none of his own.†

* Those that had arisen between the Guinea Companies, and were among the alleged grounds of the first Dutch war.

† See Arlington's letters of Sept. 18. 1668, and Jan. 22. 1669, pp. 349. 386.; and Temple's of Oct. 2. 1668, ii. 21.

Arlington did not conceal his ill-will towards the Dutch. "That which I am sorry to observe," says Temple, "is a sharp humour in our nation in the interpretation of the least incidents that occur."* "You are not at all mistaken," replies the minister, "in your observation and complaint of a sharp humour amongst us towards that nation, which cannot be corrected but by giving them [us?] fair and equal dealings in trade, with which I am persuaded we shall be for ever friends; without it never, how inconvenient soever a breach would be to us."†

After these discussions had proceeded for some time, Temple appeared publicly in his ambassadorial dignity: —

"On Sunday I had my public entry, without any ill accidents, and something very extraordinary, as every body says, in the people's concourse from all parts of the country, as well as their expressions of satisfaction, so that I should have died of despite if I had followed the advice which every body seemed disposed to give me, upon the commissioners' retrenchments of ambassadors' allowances and equipage, which was, to live and appear low in proportion to it, and tell every body the King was resolved his ministers should do so. As it was, for aught I hear, they are all satisfied; and it appeared so by the same concourse in all the streets at my audience, which was on Thursday, where they tell me all the burgomasters of Holland were come together, as well as the States

* Dec. 18. 1668, Sel. Let. 100. † Dec. 22. Arl. 376.

General; and it passed, as far as I could hear, with their satisfaction; and I am glad it is well over."*

The following passage in the speech which he addressed to the States General, shows how early and how close was the historical connection between Sir William Temple and the policy of the Triple League: —

"His Majesty, knowing how particular and fond inclinations men commonly have, for any thing that looks like a production of their own, thought he could not give a greater testimony of his care to conserve his alliance with your lordships, than by employing the same hand to cultivate it, which had first the honour to plant it among you; and these are the grounds and motives of his Majesty's sending me at this time to reside with your lordships, under a character which has been long intermitted by the Crown of England."†

When thus installed in his office, Temple wrote freely to his friend, Sir Orlando Bridgeman: his communications savoured a little of that political speculation in which his works abound. The complexity of his projects is often to be contrasted with the simplicity of his own proceedings. In his opinion, the interest of England, if not of all Christendom, was the defence of Spain, not only in Flanders, but in every part of the world where she was threatened by the ambition of France. And he had three several plans for aiding Spain.‡

* Sept. 21. Sel. Let. 74. † Longe MSS.
‡ To the Lord Keeper, Oct. 2. 1668, ii. 14.

First, and this would have been his favourite scheme, if England had been as strong as she ought to have been, a defensive league with Spain singly. Singly, because we should then have all to ourselves such advantages as we might gain in the war, and these might countervene what our trade would suffer, and the Dutch gain, while they were at peace. The advantages which he promised himself, were to consist in the trade of wools and logwood, and in direct contributions of salt and money.

Doubting, however, whether England was at that time able to take so vigorous a counsel, Temple had a second scheme, for uniting with Sweden only, whom we must, in that case, allow to share in the rich benefits which were to be gathered from Spain. Last of all, he would make a quadruple league with Spain, Sweden, and Holland: but this was his least favourite scheme, not only because he doubted of the concurrence of the States, but because the Dutch would naturally require a full share of the gain; and it was doubtful, whether Spanish riches and liberality would be sufficient for the pretensions of the three.

Above all, he desired an alliance with Spain, in order to prevent her from acting upon a resolution, which, in his spite against the Dutch, Castel-Rodrigo had once threatened,—to abandon Flanders altogether.

Temple appended to his speculations a conclusion, philosophical and moral, in a style characteristic of the writer: — "I fear we are not grow-

ing fast enough into a posture of making these paces alone, at least by what I could observe or hear during my short stay in England, which was but too much entertained with all bodings and complaints: but, *quid tristes querimoniæ, si non supplicio culpa reciditur? quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* * Without great virtue and steadiness in the government, and resolution of going through whatever is thought fit and just, whereby men may see that the only way to rise is to deserve it, all tampering of factions, taking off persons, and soothing parties, is but patching up an ill house: I mean not virtue, in a peaking†, formal, mal, presbyterian sense, but that which the greatest nations of old so politely favoured and renowned, which consisted in those qualities which made men fit for the service of their princes and countries, by strong and healthful dispositions both of bodies and minds."

Notwithstanding all these calculations of benefit from a separate war, Temple, it would appear, recommended to his government the quadruple alliance between England, Holland, Sweden, and Spain.‡ And in order that the king might have money in the treasury, without depending wholly upon his parliament for supplies, he suggested several plans of finance, which consisisted chiefly

* Hor. Cam. Lib. iii. Od. 24.

† Little, or sneaking. See Todd's Johnson, under Peak, *v. n.*

‡ In his letter to Lord Keeper, Nov. 2., ii. 29., he mentions having written upon it to Lord Arlington. It is not mentioned in any letter in the collection; but probably we have not the whole of the correspondence.

in anticipations of revenue, and resumption or formal promises of royal grants.

But while indulging in these speculations, which he appears to have used by way of exercising his ingenuity, Temple proceeded regularly with the business of his mission.

The payment of the subsidies by Spain to Sweden, and the guaranty of the Spanish possessions, were the subject of varied and tedious discussions. Spain required that the guaranty should be given first; and Temple rather supported this claim*:—"I must, after my manner, say very frankly, that I thought they might have a little reason, considering in what manner we had used them in the course of this business: that we promised them the guaranty upon signing the peace of Aix; that immediately after we imposed a great sum of money upon them, without their consent, as both the crown and the ministry aver, and without entering into any negotiation with them; and to dispose them to pay it, declare we will not give them the promised guaranty till that be satisfied; that in the whole business of the peace we had run the common fate of mediators, and made enemies of both; having disobliged France equally in the substance, and Spain in the form: that our danger now was, either to lose Sweden's part in our Triple Alliance, or to make Spain grow desperate by our hard usage, and fall into treaties with France, perhaps for giving up Flanders itself."

* In his first conference with the Dutch deputies, Meerman and De Witt, reported in his letter of Oct. 12. 1668. Sel. Let. 83.

Under the impression of these difficulties, Temple suggested that a general guaranty of the Pyrenean Treaty, and of all the dominions of Spain, should be offered as a consideration for the payment of the subsidies. Meerman and De Witt approved of these suggestions, proposing, in addition, that England and Holland should secure to Sweden the payment of monthly subsidies during war; and that the allies should agree as to the forces to be employed.

The Swedish minister* received these suggestions kindly, and Temple, always sanguine, insisted that Spain would make no difficulty, either in paying the subsidies, *or in making the King some considerable advantages in private, for bringing so great a work to pass.*†

The English Government objected to a general guaranty of the Pyrenean Treaty; "lest, in the extent of it, it should be construed to engage the King to greater charge and undertakings than will consist with the state of his affairs."‡ But they agreed to bear one third of the subsidy to Sweden, Spain and the States bearing each the same share.§

This determination was not acceptable to De Witt, who ascribed it to the English ministers' fear of "*choaking* France‖," and to the influence of

* M. Appleboom. † Oct. 16. Sel. Let. 87.

‡ Sir John Trevor to Temple, Oct. 8. 1668, ii. 188. Trevor had been recently appointed Secretary of State, in the room of Sir William Morice. Beatson i. 401.

§ Arlington, Oct. 23. p. 357. See also Oct. 30. and Nov. 2. pp. 361. 363.

‖ To Arlington, Oct. 26. Sel. Let. 91. The word is used, according to Temple's fashion, in the sense of the French word *choquer*.

Colbert, the French ambassador; nor did he expect that the States would agree to contribute their third. But the objection to the proposed guaranty was perfectly reasonable. The Triple Alliance itself, in sanctioning the conquests of Louis in Flanders, was widely at variance with the Pyrenean Treaty, and only contemplated a return to it, if France should transgress the limits prescribed by that alliance. Temple's friend, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, concurred with Trevor and Buckingham in objecting to the guaranty, even before they had communicated with Arlington. Nevertheless, Temple was much disappointed at the backwardness of his government in going so far as the States were now willing to go, in that course of opposition to France to which English councils had brought them.

"You put me here (he writes to Trevor *) upon very hard parts; my whole business hitherto, since the first step I made last year into the country, to engage Holland in was, bold and forward paces against France, and for the defence of Spain, as we were content to make ourselves; and they remember very well the proposal I made them last winter of an offensive and defensive league to that purpose. How far beyond hopes I have succeeded in this pursuit I need not tell you, after the paper M. De Witt drew up as an expedient for the Swedish satisfaction. The province you now give me is, to temper them in their warmth upon this occasion, and yet to satisfy them that his Ma-

* Oct. 26. Jones, p. 21.

jesty's backwardness to accompany them in it as far as they are willing to go, proceeds not from any change of measures or temper in us; though, to avoid it, we are willing to pay down a good sum of money for Sweden, which they think is a commodity we cannot spare but upon a very great occasion. I, that know the King a little, and the ministers a great deal, believe this perfectly; but doubt it will not be without difficulty to make every body else believe it, especially at a time when all mouths here are full of M. Colbert and his negotiations.

However, I will go in it as far as I can, and doubt not to go as far as any man else shall do, by the credit of my plainness and truth among them here; and by their belief that when the King falls into other measures, he will use some other hand here, and not mine, which I hope you will be of opinion to do, as my Lord Arlington promised me he would."

Temple had now entirely lost his jealousy of De Witt: —

"I will presume to say that you have now sufficient testimonies of what I always persuaded myself concerning M. De Witt being a perfect Hollander, and no more a Frenchman than anything else. I will now tell you my further opinion of him; which is, that if we think to make use of any advances he may have made against France past retreat, towards the gaining any points or advantages of the States which he esteems not reasonable or fit, he is a man to venture all, rather than

suffer or consent to it: this maxim running through his whole frame:—That a state is at an end, when they are brought to grant the smallest matters through fear, or *to offer at purchasing any alliances otherwise than by mutual interests and reciprocal advantages.** I say this, because actions spring much from men's dispositions who are in the head of them, and there is nothing so necessary in treating as knowing the persons with whom they are to treat."

But the instructions from England became more and more unpalatable to the zealous negotiators of the Triple Alliance. Arlington not only held, that Sweden could not be expected to enter into it, until Spain had paid the subsidy †, but he would not enter upon the consideration of the principle upon which the allies should act together, in the event of war, contemplated by the alliance itself. And he treated lightly, as if it had no meaning, the expedient which he had himself sanctioned, for sharing the subsidies between the three powers:—"I see the States have no mind to bear any share of it, and on our part, though our will be good, *our performance, I fear, will not be so.*" ‡ And again, "The truth is, it were high time that *our Triple Alliance were under some regulations;* the knowledge of that might perhaps discourage France from opening the war again this spring, how invit-

* This is quite in conformity with the sentiments expressed in De Witt's "True Interests and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland." Part. ii. ch. 5—10. London, 1746.

† Nov. 10. Arl. 367. ‡ Dec. 4. 1668. Arl. 372.

ing soever the disorders and ill conduct under which Flanders is at present may be to them."* And fresh instructions † were at this time issued, in which Temple was enjoined to warn the Spaniards, that, if they failed in their pecuniary engagements, the English ministers "knew well enough that *they could find their safety in other counsels;* and that "they owed the same guaranty to France as to Spain." Temple and De Witt were equally dissatisfied; thinking that we ought at all events to give the guaranty to Spain, and to proceed without delay to a *concert of forces*, for the all-important object of preserving Flanders from France.‡

Temple wrote freely and warmly: — "I am, I confess, sorry that your Lordship answers beforehand for our being wanting to the Spaniards, in case they can provide no ways of engaging us and their other neighbours. Besides our interest to preserve them in Flanders, for, considering the Spaniards' condition, I doubt whether their provisions can go high; and, if they reach the payment allotted the Swedes, I wish they do not think, and, perhaps, feel, they go as far as they can at present; so that if their neighbours' interest in preserving them, which they esteem as great as their own, cannot assist them, I doubt it is a presage of the loss of Flanders, and that of Holland as a province,

* Dec. 29. Arl. 378.

† Additional instructions of Jan. 7. 1667–9, in Appendix B.

‡ Temple to Arlington, Dec. 18. Sel. Let. 100.; and Jan. 8. 1668–9. Jones, 54. See also Arlington's of Nov. 3., p. 364.; 10., p. 367.; 27., p. 369.; Dec. 4., 372.; and letters of Feb. 1., March 1. & 8., in the State Paper Office.

trembling wholly under them and their protection, upon the best conditions can be afforded them; for I look upon that as the end of the other acquisition, not thinking we and the neighbours shall be able to defend Holland against France, when we could not defend Flanders; nor, if we would do, I believe we shall be well able to do it, after Spain is wholly out of the field, and the strong as well as great towns of Flanders and Brabant in the French hands; so as Holland can have nothing, as I see, left to do, but to play their game under France, and leave us the glory alone of stemming the tide, swoln with the great accessions of so many several streams, and blown up by the ambitious passions of a young King. But I hope mine is a false scheme, and that wiser men foresee other and safer events; and so I leave them, asking your Lordship's pardon for all I have writ upon this subject which belongs not to me."*

A new negotiator soon appeared, in the person of the Baron D'Isola, representative of the Emperor; a man warm in the anti-gallican interest, which he had supported by literary as well as diplomatic exertions.† He now laboured to bring about a permanent alliance, providing for the safety of Flanders, even in the event of the King of Spain's death. With all the "eloquence and great parts" upon which he relied, Temple found nothing new

* Dec. 18. Sel. let. 100.

† The *Bouclier d'Etat et de Justice*, published on the occasion of the invasion of Flanders, contains a spirited exposition of the ambitious proceedings of Louis XIV. The author is there called De Lisola, but Arlington and Temple both call him D'Isola.

in his discourse; and though, in truth, his own projects were much like those of the Baron, he did his duty to his master by discouraging all schemes that went beyond the existing engagements. Without concealing his agreement with the Baron, he persuaded him that his objects were unattainable: this "he thought the best way of dealing with a man who had more wit a great deal than he had, and so, to be sure, would have the better in argument."*

Arlington, good-natured towards his friend, and careless of his own consistency, praised the acceptable parts of Temple's letters, and neglected the rest: — "I am glad to see, that at your first entrance with M. le Baron D'Isola, you had worried him out of the vision he carried thither, to persuade the state and you to a *quadruple alliance*, or, as they have christened it in Spain, an offensive and defensive league with us. The testimony the world has justly given him of his wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any subject. But your last shows him come to some reason, and that there are two hundred thousand crowns already in hand for the satisfaction of the Swedes. I hope a few days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure myself you have his Majesty's instructions on this subject, and the satisfaction of seeing that you knew our mind before we told it to you, which I observed to his Majesty and his ministers much to your advantage."†

* Jan. 18. 1669. ii. 37.

† Arlington, Jan. 19., ii. 191.

While Temple was thus rejecting the overtures of the House of Austria, the ambassador of France complained to De Witt that the French were not regarded as formerly. "De Witt told him, it was from an incurable cause, in case the French designs upon Flanders should continue to give them jealousy. From Spain, in the height of its monarchy, they could never fear so much in Flanders as they had reason to do from France, in case they were possessed of it, since all forces must come to it by sea from Spain, whereas France might march to their frontiers with 100,000 men; and therefore he might reckon upon it, that, while they had any strength of their own and support of their allies, they would do all they could to avoid such a neighbourhood; and he thought it best to tell him plainly, on his first arrival, what he would find here in his whole negotiation. The ambassador said it was very hard they should prefer the neighbourhood of their oldest and greatest enemies before that of their best and firmest friends." To the assurance which followed, of intentions entirely pacific, the Dutchman answered, that "he was very glad to hear it, but hoped he might be excused if he did not take his measures wholly by it, by reason of an unhappiness that M. D'Estrades had fallen into here, of giving him *the same assurance in writing, by the express command of his master, just about the same time that he saw his manifesto to Spain, upon which the war broke out.*"*

* Temple to Arlington, March 1. 1669.

The Frenchman was just candid enough to avoid a positive disclaimer of further projects in Flanders; but added, with somewhat less of sincerity, that his master prayed for the King of Spain's life, and so thought nothing of what was to be done in the event of his death.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES'S SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH LOUIS. — FLUCTUATING COUNSELS OF ENGLAND. — MISSION OF WERDEN. — TREATIES OR GUARANTY, CONCERT AND SUBSIDY. — ARLINGTON'S VACILLATIONS, AND TEMPLE'S DIFFICULTIES.

1669—1670.

TEMPLE now received information which threatened him with the fulfilment of the forebodings, which the state of the court and ministry had excited, before he left England.

In one of his friendly visits, De Witt related a conversation which he had had with M. Puffendorff*, a Swedish agent, lately arrived from Paris. From him he learnt that, in order to deter the Swedes from adhering to the Triple Alliance, the French ministers had told him that "England would certainly fail them, and was already changed in the course of all those counsels which they had taken with Holland and Sweden, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear; and the secret was yet in very few hands, either in the French or the English courts:" and Mr. Puffendorff had seen a letter from M. Colbert, the French minister in London, to M. Turenne, in which, speaking of the English ministers, he says, "*Et je*

* Probably, Isaac Puffendorff, brother of the celebrated author.

*leur ai enfin fait sentir toute l'étendue de la libéralité de sa Majesté."**

We of this age know, much better than Temple knew, the progress of these disgraceful intrigues. We have already seen Charles apologising to Louis for the Triple Alliance: he soon endeavoured, through various channels, to renew his intimate connection with Louis, who scarcely, however, met him half way: yet some progress had been made at this time.† The particulars and the extent of the corruption of the English court have not, perhaps, been precisely ascertained; it is enough for the present, that the information of M. Puffendorff, as to the projected abandonment of the Triple Alliance, was undeniably correct.

Yet, while all these negotiations with France were proceeding, Temple was allowed to sign, on the 7th of May, 1669, a treaty, whereby the dominions of Spain were guaranteed to her, on her engaging to make a payment to Sweden of 48,000 crowns.‡

Sir William Temple took no notice of De Witt's communication, in his correspondence with Arlington. It may perhaps have induced him to reiterate in strong language his censure of the pertinacity displayed in the affair of the marine treaty. "They who influenced our merchants in this prosecution, either have no meaning this treaty should end

* To the Lord Keeper, April 24. 1669, ii. 40.

† This secret negotiation was conducted by the Duchess of Orleans, Buckingham, and Ruvigni. There is no mention of Arlington before June, 1669; when Charles tells his sister that he can answer for him. Dalrymple, i. 69—81.

‡ Dumont., vii. part i. p. 107.

fairly, and so they put it obstinately upon that single point, and in that form, which they know will never be granted; or else they aim at gaining an occasion for new disputes with the Dutch whenever they find a conjuncture for it." Again, "I cannot but interpret this as the effect of their distaste for or envy at the King's present ministry, and the course of his counsels, which have not gained greater honour abroad, nor perhaps safety and good-will at home, by any thing than by our late alliances, so renowned here, and thereby the stop we have given to the progress of the French greatness. And therefore it must come from the influence of some, who would be glad to see not only our alliance shaken or changed abroad, but our ministry at home too." * ... "If your lordship should imagine any particular envy or pique at my employment here may have contributed to the difficulties which have succeeded in this business, and that our merchants, or those that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other hands, I will beg of you not to be swayed by considerations of kindness for me, in a matter of public concernment; nor to fear that, whenever this employment falls, you shall be troubled with me at

* There was probably no reason for the imputation of political motives. At a much later period, a more able man than Sir William Temple has been puzzled to ascertain the exact ground of the complaints which the English traders in the eastern seas have always made against the Dutch. (Mr. Canning's communications with the East India Company; from recollection.) But the acquisition of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles, and its confirmation by Mr. Canning's treaty of March 17. 1824, has made these matters of little consequence. Of the greater questions of the flags and the freedom of neutral trade, more will be said presently.

home, as great ministers used to be with men out of office; for while the King's business goes well, it is not two straws matter whether such a body as I have any share of it or no. And there is an end of all the reflections I have had upon the most troublesome and untoward business that I thank God I ever had in my life, or, I hope, shall ever have again; and perhaps I am mistaken in them all." *

Notwithstanding what he wrote, Temple was probably aware that those who threw difficulties in the way of completing the Triple Alliance, were not opposing the ministers, but playing their game. Arlington himself, who, up to a recent period †, had professed largely in favour of the Triple Alliance, and had ever avowed that England was more concerned than Spain herself in the support of it, now began to disclaim all intention on the part of England to bear any pecuniary charge, adopted all the objections which Temple thought vexatious to the marine treaty; and confirmed the ambassador's apprehensions concerning himself, in the following portentous passage:—"One thing now I will (presuming upon the friendship between us) say to you: nothing is more ordinary in the mouths of men here, than that your partiality and mine for the league, or, in plainer language, for Holland, makes us easily follow all M. de Witt's dictaments, not only in that particular, but in the before-mentioned and all others, and that the world will never

* July, 1669, ii. 46. † July 9., p. 407.

believe otherwise, till they hear that you have been as civil with M. De Witt there, and I with M. Pensionary here. In a word, make you have made this point of the concert easy to the King's present conduct, and procured his subjects some tolerable satisfaction in these two principal points of Surinam* and the East Indies, both our reputations will be in some danger, not only with the Court, but with the Exchange too. Therefore, I pray you, bestir yourself in our vindication." †

To this letter, which, in referring more to popular criticism than to true policy, exhibits that deficiency of moral courage which has been ascribed to Arlington, Temple answered‡ with the manliness which he sometimes disguised, but never on a great occasion discarded: —

"I will, therefore, leave that discourse (on matters of business) for my next to Mr. Secretary Trevor, and come to thank your lordship for the great kindness of yours in cypher, by which the advices you give me how much your lordship's reputation as well as mine is concerned in my success upon these several businesses now depending here, and how necessary it will be to vindicate us both by stirring in those pursuits. I am sorry your lordship should imagine that anything in the world should be able to lead me the least

* Surinam had been restored, by the Treaty of Breda, to the Dutch, who were accused of detaining and ill-using the English settlers there.

† Arlington, i. 412. This curious letter is dated Aug. 24. 1669, and purports to be in answer to one from Temple of Aug. 27. N.S. No letter of this date is to be found.

‡ Sept. 17. 1669.

degree further than my duty to his Majesty, and my country, which is concerned in all these affairs. I can safely say, that I have pursued them to the utmost I have been capable of, and tried all manner of ways I could imagine were conducing to our ends, and have not omitted to tell them what they were to trust to in our alliance, if they grounded it not in the satisfaction of our people, as well as his Majesty's inclinations. If his Majesty would have me proceed to more public and direct threats, or declaring positively what we will have, or where we will break, *I suppose I ought to expect the orders from him, having observed no such thing in my instructions.* For the representation I have still made of their arguments, where they yielded not to this, I thought it was the part of an honest man to make them, that so the sight of the whole matter might be clearer before us; this I knew; it was not the part of a wise man, in the common sense, or one that considered himself, as well as his business; and I am sensible enough how unjustly all that has been reflected upon me; but should be a great deal more so if I had as many and as great ends to serve, as those that turn their talent that way.

"I cannot help their thinking me so weak a man as to be governed by M. De Witt, and led to what he pleases; but, under their favour, they cannot object to his leading me to anything, but only my not leading him so as they pleased; so that my fault is not his governing me, but my not governing him; which I know no remedy for, and doubt they might succeed in it as ill as I. But if there

could be any such thing said as our following his measures now, it is not without wiser men's opinion than mine, that it were the way to make him follow ours hereafter, if ever a war should begin; whereas, taking our measures another way, would oblige us to follow for ever after, and make us go to service when we can live very well of ourselves. For my part, I will never deny my opinions, that the King and kingdom's interest is to balance the affairs of Europe, to hinder the exorbitant growing power of France, to defend Flanders; and towards these ends to continue a strict alliance with Holland, fasten the Triple League, and head all the affairs of Christendom on one side, as France will do on the other. I am, besides, of opinion, it is not possible to have a war between France and Holland without our engaging in it, since, without that, Holland will upon no provocation be brought to enter into it, but rather turn a province, and live as well as they can under the protection of France, whenever they want ours against it. *As these are my thoughts, so I believe them his Majesty's and his ministers, at my coming here, and may justly expect to be told if they are changed, or I am deceived,* that I may steer accordingly, as I ever shall do, by the compasses given me, and while I serve his Majesty do it in his own way; and, when I can do that no longer, shall never deceive him by any counterfeit service. For your lordship's vindication there is nothing fit for me that I would not do, and should be glad you would propose the way to it at any cost of mine: for my own, I shall not trouble my-

self about it, but trust to truth and innocence; and if the reflections on me arise from envy, I know an easy cure for that whenever his Majesty has no use of me here, where I know of nothing to tempt me from duty; for, I thank God, I have not yet got a penny by my employment but what comes from the King, and been very far from saving any of that; nor do I see that I am likely to get any thing but gray hairs, which these good friends, that trouble themselves so much about my carriage, still never have the pleasure of increasing; for your lordship may assure yourself, let them say what they will of that kind, I will spite them by not deserving it.

The allies now began to be alarmed. The Swedish minister, M. Marechal, who had, doubtless, heard the story of Puffendorff, now, evidently with a view to sound him as to his master's present intention, reminded Temple of the King of England's engagement to take his share of the subsidy. Temple could only say, that no one of the projects had been actually executed; and he contrived to pacify the Swede, assuring him that he had no instructions. He was obliged to give the same answer to De Witt, who, though probably not well pleased, took it in good temper. In reporting these conferences, Temple gave a hint to Lord Arlington of rumoured changes of counsel in England, observing, that the statesmen of Holland relied entirely upon the steadiness of the present ministers, before whose time, as De Witt observed, that there was

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

might oblige England to the payment of any part of the subsidies." Other passages were in a tone unfriendly to the Dutch ministers, who were suspected of intending to prevent the pecuniary arrangement between Sweden and Spain, in order that one might be made profitable to themselves.

We know not what passed between Werden and Temple, or how Temple treated this matter in his despatches; it could not have been otherwise than offensive to him.* But it appears that the English government, soon after the return of Mr. Werden, relaxed a little, and authorised Temple to sign the specification of forces, if he could not otherwise procure the payment of the subsidies from Spain. †

In what page in the long chapter of intrigue and vacillation this new turn is to be found, is not easily known. Wheresoever originating, it was a decision of great importance. "After so many shocks," writes Temple to the Prince of Tuscany‡, "the Triple Alliance has borne for some time, and so many presages of its death, there is within these two days some appearance of its recovery." Yet he lamented that the power had not been given to him before; and was compelled, against his intention, to produce it, because the fact of his pos-

* Writing afterwards to his father, he says, "I was sensible that my conduct in all these matters had fallen short, for many months past, of the approbation at court it used to receive, and that *Mr. Werden was sent over to me only to disparage it, or espy the faults of it*, though I think he returned with the opinion that the business would not bear it. London, Nov. 22. 1670, ii. 170.

† Instructions of Nov. 22. 1669. — Appendix B.

‡ Dec. 5. 1669, ii. 74.

sessing it had become known to the Spanish ambassador.

Temple scarcely felt confident now. "In all which points," he says, mentioning some that were doubtful, "I am the more distinct, that you may find whether I understand his Majesty's meaning right, and may please accordingly to inform and direct me, for the forces, as they are much more difficult, so they ought to be much more cautious in a minister, when his instructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this affair. And you may be very confident, when they are once given, they shall be punctually observed to the best that I can understand them."*

Sir John Trevor acknowledged that the government was somewhat late in their resolution, and hoped that Temple's industry would supply the deficiency. "I give you this assurance, that all the steps you have made are very well understood by his Majesty and all his ministers, both as to the integrity and prudence of them..... I know you have a great and difficult work on your hands, and when I said it was in good hands, I said it in great sincerity and just esteem of the conduct I have seen in it."†

Yet, in the midst of these assurances, and notwithstanding that he conformed himself with perfect fidelity to the orders which he had received from time to time, and refused to commit England

* To Sir John Trevor, Dec. 10. ii. 81.
† Dec. 7. 1669. Longe papers.

by any burthensome obligation, Temple daily lost ground at home. Mr. Overkirk, a Dutch connection of Lady Arlington, who went to England, did him more harm than good by praising him to the English ministers:—"I am obliged by his good meaning, and not the more touched by their ill, who are not content that I should gain a little esteem, whilst I am content to gain nothing else, and where I should not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the best way any minister can take towards the advantage of his master's service. Whilst your lordship has neither share nor belief in the ill offices which are done me, I shall very easily neglect what comes from other hands, and content myself with not deserving them, and with the assurance that time will do me right, and that your lordship will not lose your confidence in me till you have told me of some one action in my whole life that you thought did not become a man you were inclined to think well of. And so I will leave that subject."

Perhaps, under these expressions of confidence in his friend, there lurked a little of suspicion upon the course pursued by the government generally. Temple spoke plainly, and with a boldness not often exhibited by a subordinate functionary. In alluding to a suggestion made by Mr. Van Beuninghen for a prohibition of all French commodities, he thus characterises the government of which he addresses a principal member:—"I entered no further with him into any discourse of that kind, because I doubt whether we are of a temper or of

a humour to resolve or execute any bold or smart propositions, how well soever conceived, or conducing to our health and good fortunes, though I question not at all but God Almighty has given us the power of going as high as the greatest of our neighbours, but perhaps, as your lordship says, unknown to ourselves, and in another way than some of us would have been glad to have had it. But wherever it lies, I doubt it will never come out till his Majesty can find the means to make an end of all fencing with the bents of his parliament or discontents of his people, and bring his government into the credit of having no other aims or interests but those of his subjects in general, not in particular, nor, consequently, any eye upon their money, but for those uses they are willing to give it. This I confess is my opinion on the whole, and that all does not consist in a parliament being prevailed with to give what is asked in point of money, as I find many people think. However, I should never have said it to any but your lordship, nor to you neither, but induced by *the melancholy reflections which I observe in your letter upon this subject.*"* He concludes by an earnest recommendation to the ministers to take once for all some plan of counsel at home and abroad, instead of "living only by the day, and patching of things as they break out." From some passages of this letter, it would appear that Arlington was himself dissatisfied with the counsels in which he nevertheless largely shared, and that his real opinions

* Dec. 24., p. 94.

now and then broke out in his correspondence with Temple, who hailed the renewal of it, after it had become less frequent, "as a man does an old love, which lies still at heart, however diverted or discontinued."*

In his answer to this "home letter†," Lord Arlington, amidst expressions of personal regard, and declarations of adherence to the Triple Alliance, announced the King's desire that the disputes between France and Spain, which arose out of the peace of Aix, should be referred to arbitration:‡ and it afterwards came out that England and Sweden were to be the mediators, to the exclusion of the States, a resolution justly censured by De Witt§, and very indicative of the deference now paid to France by the English ministers.

Nevertheless, they permitted the arrangements of the Triple Alliance to proceed; the "concert of forces" was signed, and the subsidies were paid to Sweden.

The Swedes and Dutch bound themselves to succour Spain in the Netherlands within a specified and short time; the period of England's succour was left indefinite.‖ Temple did not venture to go one step beyond the instructions, which, he now began to perceive, had been coldly as well as tardily

* Dec. 24. 1669, ii. 88.

† Boyer, 151.

‡ Lord Arlington, Jan. 7. and 28. 1670, pp. 420. 423.

§ Temple, Feb. 7., ii. 101. and 107. These new treaties were dated Jan. 31. 1670, and ratified on March 7. King's Letter Book, iii. in the State Paper Office.

‖ Temple to the Constable of Castile, Jan. 23., ii. 95.; and to Trevor, Jan. 24., p. 97. Of this man, who succeeded Castel Rodrigo, Temple gives a very contemptuous account, ii. 131.

given:— "I will ingenuously confess, that had I continued still in your lordship's constant correspondence, as I was at Brussels, and in the good heart which that and his Majesty's acceptance of my services, upon your lordship's favourable representation, used to give me, I should now have made no difficulty of leaving a blank for the time, for his Majesty to have filled up, and thereby take away all excuse from the constable to raise any new delays. But my wings are cut, and that frankness of my heart which made me think every body meant as well as I did, is much allayed: and perhaps 't is the better, I am sure 't is the safer, for me; for a minister with this last disposition makes fewer faults, though with the other he makes greater strokes; and though I have made a shift to end this business, yet I should not have been capable of beginning it as I did, by our first alliance here, when my heart was free." All this is just, and in keeping with the boldness and ingenuousness of Temple's mind. What follows, though equally characteristic, is perhaps less commendable:— "All the constable attributes to me in the conduct of this matter, I must with more justice and truth attribute wholly to your lordship, under whose care and influence it was born, and has grown to what it is: and I believe you will not be ashamed of it, since all Christendom, for aught I see, will applaud it, unless France should have other designs than the rest are willing to come to pass." *

Although Arlington still professed to adhere to

* Jan. 31. 1670.

the Triple Alliance, he did not at all relish a proposition, which Temple forwarded to him, from the Baron D'Isola, for giving additional strength to that league by including the Emperor in it:—"I will not believe the Emperor very fond of embracing the proposition, *so as to give offence to France.* And if he be thus shy, with all his concernments, and dependencies upon Spain, *what ought our Master to be, with his necessities,* and *little security of being relieved in them by the Parliaments?* If that goes over happily, you may perhaps hear us speak more boldly, but till then, it must be a great part of your prudence to keep his Majesty from being asked questions, which are hard to grant, and as unfit to deny. From what I say you may easily infer my mind, without alleging to the ministers there my reasons for it; and to take heed of suffering his Majesty or yourself to be *praised* into measures which his strength will not support. It is visibly the interest of Spain, of Holland, and of Swedeland, not only to put themselves in a state of supporting the war against France, but even to provoke it; and perhaps it would be for our Master's honour to do so too; but without vigour to support that honour, it would have a contrary effect upon us, not only abroad, but at home too. .... It will not be amiss, if he give you occasion for it, to warn the Baron D'Isola to take heed of provoking his Majesty by such practices. The success of his great wit renders him too fertile in such inventions." *

* Feb. 4. Arl. 425.

These sneers at the cleverness of D'Isola, not unlike those which have been launched in our time against a great Austrian minister, may be ascribed to the strength and ability of his anti-French policy. On his own part, Temple answered with much spirit: — "I will only complain upon this occasion, that I have had the ill luck often to make my friends suspect in the course of this business that I would commit many faults, though I have yet had the good fortune that they have never accused me of having committed any; and perhaps if wiser men than I had so delicate a part so long upon their hands, as to pursue an affair where so many were to agree, and where we so often disagreed with the aims and interests of all the others, and yet concerned ourselves as much as any that the business should not break, they might possibly have run through as much censure, and deserved it as well, as I have done. Nor do I yet know how I shall always prevent his Majesty being asked questions sometimes he is unwilling to answer. I will avoid his being asked them by me, if I know beforehand his Majesty would dislike them; but that will not hinder the applications of other ministers in England to know from better hands what they cannot have from mine, or where they distrust my reserving more than I need, which your lordship knows has happened in France three or four several times, at least if he be at all true in what he writes; upon which occasion I send your lordship my last to the constable, that you may see both how I am pursued by those weapons, and how I defend myself

before any others from England are put into my hands. In what I sent from the Baron D'Isola, I confess I never was so thoughtful as at all to suspect it would be unwelcome in England any more than here, knowing the overtures of it had been sent so long since by the Baron D'Isola, and having never received one word till now to make me guess what I now do by your lordship's last letter; and though I have a good while observed more frankness upon our resolutions upon the particulars of our negotiations here, yet, finding our firmness as to the general ends, I thought it even necessary to cover the other as much as I could, for fear if those who are to bear the burthen with us see us shrink, they should do so too, and every one, upon distrust of one another, should leave it at length and shift for themselves. For the freedom of your lordship's last letter I can very truly say I understand it as I ought to do, and take it for the greatest kindness you can use me with, and so have the confidence you will interpret with that freedom I use in my return, and will assure your lordship I had at all times much rather hear of my faults from my friends, than be praised by all indifferent persons." *

Arlington was not satisfied. From the style of his despatches at this time, so different from that of his older letters, it may almost be inferred that he desired to disgust Temple; his tone, however, was still friendly. After telling him that he gave him a *parabien* at the conclusion of the affair of the

* Feb. 21. 1670.

Swedish money, he says:—"I was sorry to see the instruments run so near the two points that are positively forbidden; to wit, the ascertaining a time for the preparation and furnishing of the King's quota in case a war break out, and the answering for a part of the Swedish future subsidies. I am further to complain to yourself, that notwithstanding what I wrote to you upon the receipt of Baron D'Isola's project, you have not prevailed with him to forbear writing, and offering the same to me; whereas I, in my own opinion, furnished you with some reasons, both public and private, against the said project. . . . But my way to be revenged of you for this shall be to send him to you."*

Even at the risk of tediousness, Temple's answer must be given. It would have been unfair to suppress the letters, in which there is an excess of deference and devotion; so would it be unjust to omit these, in which a bold and manly answer is made to an unfounded accusation. Regarded, moreover, for their literary merit, his letters are more admirable than the greater part of the writings by which Temple is chiefly known†:—

"I will not believe you could expect I should be much exalted with the *parabien* you gave me after the conclusion of our late affair, since you are displeased at the form of it, for I am sure, if I cannot satisfy your lordship in what I do, I have very little reason to hope that I satisfy any body else. I

* March 4. Arl. 427.

† It should be remembered that these letters, now taken from the State Paper Office, have never been in print before.

will not enter into the detail of those papers; they are a thing done, and if they were to do again I could not hope to do them better; and I am sure very often despaired of doing them so well; but I will not go about to excuse myself upon that, nor upon their having been all transmitted into England, and either directly or silently approved before I perfected them here, nor upon his Majesty's present resolution to ratify them; but I will stand upon my justification upon these two points you are unsatisfied with,—of ascertaining the time for furnishing the King's quota in time of war, and answering for a part of the Swedish subsidies; for if there be any thing at all of the first, or any thing that in the least engages his Majesty upon the last, I am content to pass for a man that is incapable either of obeying his master, or understanding himself, and to be used and esteemed accordingly. For the Baron D'Isola's attempting your lordship a second time, when he could make no entrance upon me, I am very well content with the revenge you intend by sending him to me again, but am not at all sensible of the wrong you lay to my charge. I have had him upon my hands these six months, and have kept him from so much as fastening any promise upon me as of writing his errand into England, though I have done it of myself both to your lordship and secretary Trevor." *

Arlington now shifted his ground, said that England had always been willing to admit the Emperor

* March 21.

into the Triple Alliance, and objected only to a defensive union.* Temple rejoined, that adhesion to the alliance was all that he and De Witt contemplated. He sent him De Witt's project for this object, and repeated his request for an answer from the King.

But the English government sought and made reasons of all sorts for delay and evasion. The Queen of Spain now desired that the arbitrations between her and Louis should be applied to all questions arising out of the affairs of the Netherlands, and the Treaty of Aix. To us, the suggestion appears not unreasonable; but Arlington considered, or affected to consider it, an extravagant and warlike step.† He pretended, moreover, to believe that the Queen's letter was dictated at the Hague; and he betrayed some apprehension about M. Van Beuninghen, who was at this time sent to England. Temple vindicated his friend:—"The suspicion, I am confident, is without other ground than a suspicion we have conceived of more *finesse* than I have yet observed in the chief ministers here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for tricks or juggling, I do not observe either their abilities or their disposition lies much in that way; nor, I believe, does any wise man's, unless he be brought to it by the ill condition or the necessity of his affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their case here, nor will be, I suppose, while Flanders is preserved; and so

* March 22. Arl. 429. and see Trevor's of same date. Longe Papers.
† April 12. Arl. 431.

long I shall consider them as merchants in good estate and credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by fair dealing; but, whenever they fail in that adventure, I shall grow as jealous of them as I see others are."*

As for Van Beuninghen's mission, it was avowedly for the purpose of arranging the questions of trade and navigation; but Temple did not deny, that it was also occasioned by a natural desire to ascertain the "temper" of the English Court in respect to the alliance, "which many discourses and reflections of late had made them a little suspect does not continue so equal and so warm as it began." A further object was, the conjoint prohibition of French commodities, a favourite project with De Witt†, which very well suited Temple's notions of political economy.

It appears to have been not only as the bearer of unpalatable propositions, that Arlington had reason to dread the approach of the Dutch envoy. He belonged to a class to this day peculiarly offensive at Whitehall:—"Your lordship will find nothing to

* May 15., ii. 109.

† "As the only sure and easy way of bringing the French power and riches into decay, in case the thing could be agreed on among all or the greater part of their neighbours: and this court (the Hague) having sounded the Spanish court upon that point, received answer that whatever England and they should agree upon, Spain would readily join with them in it; by which means they suppose that besides what would be saved by both our nations, by stopping the great importation of French commodities, a very great traffic would be gained by exporting our own to furnish the Spanish fleet, which supplies their West Indies every year, in a great measure, with commodities brought them from France. The resolutions of this state go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than wearing goods and brandy; nor do I know whether this itself will be brought to execution before they are satisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which the consideration of wine and salt will likewise come in play."—p. 112.

lessen your esteem of his person, unless it be, that *he is more desirous of willing to hear as to be heard*, and out of the abundance of his imagination *is apt sometimes to become a man to death*; which I tell you beforehand, that you may not fall into any prejudice before you know him well; and on the other side, I have taken some care to prevent his employing his talent too much in your conversations. For the rest, you will find him *fort honnête homme*, one that wishes all the good of his country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majesty's alliance, and who, upon the Prince's occasion, well deserves the good-will of our Court. For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not inclined, nor offering to impose *his measures*, as you call them, upon us: but after any proposition and reasons he shall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are masters of all, and that the States will in all things that concern our neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take."*

The wavering course of Arlington's policy had led him into a habit of mystification; he professed† to have meant, that the Spanish answer was dictated, not by De Witt, but by D'Isola.

The ratifications of the treaties of guaranty, concert, and subsidy, were now exchanged‡; but the discussions concerning the admission of the

* [illegible]

† It was not [illegible] professive only, for he had said, "I perceive M. De Witt's judgment of the answer from Spain is the same as mine, and [illegible] for, both in France and here, there are reasons that believe the letter from Madrid was dictated at the Hague." Add. MS., Ad. 4162.

‡ To Trevor, May 6, 1670, p. 106.

Emperor into the Triple Alliance, and of the States into the arbitrage between France and Spain,* were not concluded during Temple's residence at the Hague; and he continued to "entertain himself" according to Arlington's † description, with the East India business, but without any success.

It must be confessed, that it is not very easy to trace out the course of all these discussions. Much of the difficulty is owing to the irregularity of the correspondence, as we possess it; but much also to its *mystification*, arising from the progressive but avowed difference of view, between the King's ministers in England, and his ambassador abroad. It is often difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of parties in a complicated transaction; frequently, the want of precision is in the intellects of the parties themselves. But, in the present case, one of the parties had no desire to be clear, when explanation would convict him of inconsistency, impolicy, and treachery.

* See Temple, ii. 139.; and Arl. 448.
† Arl. ii. 314.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DOVER TREATY BETWEEN CHARLES AND LOUIS. — TEMPLE RECALLED. — LADY TEMPLE'S ADVENTURE AT SEA. — TEMPLE'S AUDIENCE OF THE KING, AND INTENDED RETIREMENT.

1670.

NEARLY at the same moment with that of the ratification of the treaties whereby the Triple Alliance was strengthened and guaranteed, and England took her part in opposition to the encroachments of France, the minister under whose auspices the alliance had been concluded, put his hand to a new treaty.* By this, the King of England became a dependent and pensioner of France, and promised to make war upon his newly-recovered and now zealous ally.

This corrupt bargain between Charles and Louis soon began to show itself in its fruits.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the warm friend of Temple and of the Triple League, ceased to attend the committees of foreign affairs; "an ill thing," as Temple justly thought, and "an ill sign too."†

* Dover, May 22. 1670. Lingard, xii. 215 and 284. See p. 315. ante. For preliminary discussions, see Dalrymple i. 85 to 105; but his dates are not always accurate. We do not think it necessary to notice the stipulations about religion and domestic government.

† To Lord Keeper, Aug. 19., ii. 152.

Trevor and the Duke of Ormond were also put out of the Foreign Committee.* The fruit of the treachery now appeared also on the side of France, in the seizure of Lorraine by Louis; a measure which clearly showed that the French king's ambition was as lively as ever, and that he had no apprehension of formidable opposition. The States, apprehending that the conquest of Franche Comté and Flanders would be greatly facilitated by this acquisition, had scarcely imparted the unexpected news to Sir William Temple †, when the ambassador received the King's orders to return to England.‡

The ministers did not venture avowedly to recall the negotiator of the Triple Alliance. After mentioning the discussions with D'Isola, — "for this reason," wrote Arlington §, "for the delay of Spain's accommodating itself to the arbitrage in the terms it can only take effect, for this new affair of Lorraine, and for many considerations arising to his Majesty out of the whole contexture of your negotiations in that country, his Majesty commands me to let you have his pleasure, that, without delay, upon receipt of this, you come *privately* into England, leaving your house standing

* Hume, vii. 458.
† Sept. 2. 1670, ii. 160.
‡ To the Lord Keeper, Sept. 1670, ii. 164.
§ Sept. 1. 1670. Arl. 453. In order to extend the deception, Arlington informed Sir William Godolphin, at Madrid, and probably other ministers abroad, that Temple was sent for, because the king wished to confer with him about the Emperor Lorraine, and other pending matters. Sept. 22. Arl. ii. 305.

there in the form it is, acquainting M. De Witt therewith, *as also of his Majesty's purpose to send you speedily back again.*"

De Witt instantly suspected a change of policy in England. He connected this order, not only with the seizure of Lorraine, but with the visit of the Duchess of Orleans * to her brother, and with a recent journey of the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, which De Witt could not ascribe simply to a desire "to see the country or learn the language."

He therefore earnestly pressed for an explanation: —"I know the best of any how all these matters had passed; how his Majesty had engaged these states in those common measures, and even preconcerted with them to make a sacrifice of the ancient kindness and alliance this state had always before with France to the considerations of the present danger from the greatness of that crown to the rest of Christendom, though they might have had what terms they pleased from them for the dividing of Flanders. I know well with how inviolate faith and firmness the States had constantly observed for these two years past their friendship and alliances with his Majesty, and how great a part I had in contracting and preserving them, by the particular regard the States and he had in my person, as one that was persuaded of the common interests, that knew my master's mind, and could not be persuaded to deceive those that trust me."†

* This took place in May; she died in June.
† To Lord Keeper, Sept. 1670, ii. 164.

To this just and forcible appeal, Temple answered by a frank avowal of his own participation in some of the reflections which De Witt had made upon these occurrences; though "he could not believe it possible for the King and ministers to change in a point of so evident interest. He could answer, however, for nobody besides himself, but this he would; and *if ever such a thing should happen, he would never have any part in it. He had told the King so, and would make it good.* For the present, there was nothing more to be said. If I returned, he would know more; and I doubted, by what he said, that *he would guess more if I returned not.* M. De Witt smiled, and said I was in the right; that in the mean time, he would try to cure himself and others of all suspicions upon my journey."*

In the confidential letter wherein he gave this relation to the Lord Keeper, he expressed his first apprehension of the truth, an intimation which that zealous friend had conveyed to him, of a change of sentiment in Lord Arlington.

Temple arrived in London in October, 1670; and his worst suspicions were confirmed by his reception at court.

It had been his custom to visit Arlington upon his first arrival, and he did not omit this duty when specially summoned, as he now was; but though the visit was according to practice, the reception was far otherwise. Instead of leaving

* Ib. p. 167.

all company to greet his visitor, and receiving him with open arms, Arlington, who was closeted with Lord Ashley *, kept his old friend an hour and a half in a waiting room. When the minister at last appeared, his manner was cold, and his conversation turned upon the ordinary topics connected with Temple's journey, until, scarcely knowing how to put off any longer the important business which occasioned that journey, he called his little daughter † out of the next room, and then admitted Lord Crofts ‡, so as to make particular conversation im-

* Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, afterwards the well-known Earl of Shaftesbury, born in 1621. He had been a member of the House of Commons in 1640, and parliamentarian: but he was much opposed to Cromwell, and concurred in the Restoration. He was admitted into the Privy Council in 1660, and created a peer in 1661. See Burnet, i. 163.; Hume, vii. 458.; Collins, iii. 547.; Biog. Dict. 10. 212.; and see his character, as Achitophel, in Dryden, ix. 222 and 263:—

> "In friendship false, implacable in hate,
> Resolved to ruin or to rule the state;
> To compass this *the triple bond he broke*,
> The pillars of the public safety shook,
> And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke."

Lord John Russell presents a rather less unfavourable view of Shaftesbury than other historians, but nevertheless imputes to him the want of consistency, sincerity, and honesty. In the third chapter of Lord John's life of his ancestor, Lord Russell, will be found a good account of the secret negotiations with France, and of the ministers of the Cabal. 4to, p. 26.

† This daughter, Lady Isabella, was afterwards married, in 1672, to the first Duke of Grafton; in allusion to which event Dryden says:—

> "His age with only one mild heiress blessed,
> In all the bloom of smiling nature dressed;
> And blessed again to see his flower allied
> To David's stock, and made young Othniel's bride."
> Abs. and Ach., ix. 348. and 395.

‡ William Crofts, the first and only Lord Crofts, employed in diplomacy.

possible. Temple went away in despair *; but attended the minister in the morning, and solicited the ordinary presentation to the King. Lord Arlington took him to Charles as he was walking in the Mall. His Majesty's curiosity, also, was confined to the journey, without notice of the occasion of it: not one word about the Emperor or Lorraine; or other reference to the matters with which his representative had been charged, than a few questions about the Prince. King and minister, probably, both avoided business, because they were ashamed to avow to an upright and consistent statesman the shabby part which they had played.

He got no assistance from the Lord Keeper or Secretary Trevor. Bridgeman partook of his uneasiness at the present counsels; Trevor professed a confidence that the alliance could not be shaken; but neither of these ministers was more than "barely in the skirts of business," Buckingham, Arlington, Ashley, and Clifford being alone in the secret, and composing the ministry.†

It was from Sir Thomas Clifford, with whom he

* Lady Giffard says, the treatment he had from Lord Arlington 'did not pass without being resented by Sir William Temple, who had not learned the lesson they say one should always learn in courts, to swallow everything."

† With the addition of the Earl of Lauderdale, who managed all the affairs of Scotland, these too justly celebrated ministers constituted the CABAL. John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale (born 1616), had been a zealous covenanter, but afterwards adhered to the royal cause, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and in confinement for seven years. On the Restoration, he became Secretary of State, and held other high offices in Scotland. He was a man of ungainly manners and held loose principles, but remained a presbyterian. He died in 1682, having been created duke in 1672. See Burnet, i. 173.; Hume, vii. 460.; Collins, ix. 303.

had no friendship or political connection, that Temple received the first avowal of the determination of the English government to quarrel with their allies. After a long cross-examination by this minister upon the affairs of Surinam, and of the East India Company with the Dutch, "being," as he confesses, "a little heated after so long and unpleasant a conversation (as well as he), I asked him, in the name of God, what he thought a man could do more? Upon this, in a great rage, he answered me, Yes; he would tell me what a man could do more; which was, to let the King and all the world know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their ministers were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have anything to do with; and this was a part that nobody could do so well as I. My answer was very calm; that I was not a man fit to make declarations; that whenever I did upon any occasion, I should speak of all men what I thought of them, and so I should do of the States and the ministers I had dealt with there; which was all I could say of this business." *

On the other side of the water, the alarm for the Triple Alliance was equally great. The absence or return of Temple was deemed an infallible test of the good or bad conduct of England.† The same feeling appears in a letter of this period from

* To his father, Nov. 22. 1670, ii. 170.

† Mr. Blathwayt to Sir W. Temple, Hague, Sept. 10. 1670. — The date is printed 1671, but it is clearly an error.

Lady Temple, unfortunately the only one, written after the marriage, which has come to our hands.

" Hague, 31st October. *

" My dearest Heart,

" I received yours from Yarmouth, and was very glad you made so happy a passage: 'tis a comfortable thing, when one is on this side, to know that such a thing can be done in spite of contrary winds. . . . I have a letter from P. †, who says in character that you may take it from him that the D. B.‡ has begun a negotiation there, but what success he may have in England he knows not; that it were to be wished our politicians at home would consider well that there is no trust to be put in alliances with ambitious kings, especially such as make it their fundamental maxim to be base. These are bold words, but these are his own. Besides this, there is nothing but that the French King grows very thrifty; that all his buildings except fortifications are ceased, and that his payments are not so regular as they used to be. The people here are of another mind: they will not spare their money, but are resolved, at least the states of Holland (if the rest will consent) to raise fourteen new regiments of foot and six troops of horse; that all the companies, both old and new, shall be of 120 men that used to be of 50, and every troop 80 that used to be of 45. Nothing is talked of but

* Printed September, by an evident mistake. There is no year, but 1670 is obvious.

† Probably her brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Peyton.

‡ Duke of Buckingham.

these new levies; and the young men are much pleased. Downton says they have strong suspicions here you will come back no more, and that they shall be left in the lurch; that something is striking up with France, and that you are sent away because you are too well inclined to these countries; and my cousin Temple, he says, told him that a nephew of Sir Robert Long's, who is lately come to Utrecht, told my cousin Temple, three weeks since, you were not to stay long here, because you were too great a friend to these people, and that he had it from Mr. Williamson, who knew very well what he said. My cousin Temple says he told it Major Scott as soon as he heard it; and so 'tis like you knew it before; but here is such want of something to say, that I catch at everything. I am, my best dear's most affectionate D. T."

Temple foresaw the coming storm, and desired to provide against it: — "I apprehend weather coming that I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to put a warm house over my head as soon as I could; and neither apprehend any uneasiness of mind or fortune in the private life I propose to myself, unless some public revolutions should draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and must be borne like a common calamity." *

With a view to the comfort of his private life,

* November 22. 1670, ii. 170.

Temple proposed to obtain a little more ground at Sheen, and to make improvements in his house and garden. His father made him a present of five hundred pounds, with an injunction to lay it out in ornamenting the place, by making the front of the house uniform. While Sir John Temple thus contributed to the enjoyment of his son in retirement, he disapproved, or, probably, distrusted, his son's notion of hiding himself in privacy: — "Your care of me in this matter," writes Temple, "is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my thoughts of retiring wholly from public affairs, and for that purpose of making my nest at this time as pleasant and as commodious as I can afford it." *

He discouraged his father's suggestion that he should make use of his reputation and the King's favour towards improving his pecuniary means: — "Nor shall I easily resolve," he continues, "to offer at any of those advantages you think I might make upon such a retreat of the King's favour or good opinion, by pretending either to pension or any other employment. The honour and pay of such posts as I have been in ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best services of them; and if I have credit left with the present ministers to get what is owing me upon my embassy, I shall think myself enough rewarded, considering how different a value is now like to be put upon my services in Holland from what there was when they were per-

* To Sir John Temple, London, Nov. 22. 1670, ii. 170.

formed. It is very likely, at that time, as you believe, there were few reasonable things the King would have denied me, while the Triple Alliance and our league with Holland had so great vogue; and my friends were not wanting in their advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any thing, otherwise than by serving him well." *

If the information may be credited which Lady Temple acquired in the diplomatic circle at the Hague †, the recall of Temple was a point of stipulation with the French government. We have seen, on the other hand, the importance which the Dutch attached to it; and as the English ministers were not yet ripe for so public and decisive a step, the unfortunate victim of King Charles's baseness was not permitted to send for his family, but was obliged to keep up all his ambassadorial expenses at the court to which he was not to return, although his allowances were now very irregularly paid.

At last, however, in the summer of 1671, the government threw off the mask. Temple was formally displaced from the post in which all Europe regarded him with interest. The very cold letter which follows, from his former patron, shows that he had been authorised to take leave of the States: —

"Goring House, June 28. 1671.

"Sir ‡, — I humbly thank you for your cherries,

* Ib. † Temple to his father, Sept. 14. 1671, ii. 179.

‡ No inference is to be drawn from the dry use of this monosyllable. The "dear" and "my dear" of modern times were not then used. Even sons addressed their fathers "Sir," and fathers replied "Son."

which are so good that I grieve for the loss of those that could not find me at Windsor. Having his Majesty's approbation of your writing to the States, to take leave of them, *and he refusing to see your letter*, it was not at all necessary you should show it to me; yet, to comply with your desire, I have read and approved it. You are best judge, having lived among them, whether the form be good; to the matter, I am sure nothing can be objected, nor to my profession of being ever your most faithful and humble servant, ARLINGTON." *

Charles himself wrote at the same time to the States, who had recently proposed to him a more imtimate, but still defensive, alliance.† He took little notice of their application, but informed them that Temple had come away *at his own desire, and on his private affairs.* ‡

The critical position of affairs induced the Dutch to keep a fleet at sea; and the English government hoped to draw from that circumstance an occasion of quarrel. A yacht was sent for Lady Temple: the captain had orders to sail through the Dutch fleet if he should meet it, and to fire into the nearest ships until they should either strike sail to the flag which he bore, or return his shot so as to make a quarrel!

He saw nothing of the Dutch fleet in going over; but, on his return, he fell in with it, and

* Temple, ii. 208.
† March 4. 1670. Longe Papers; Museum.
‡ June 4. Museum.

fired, without warning or ceremony, into the ships that were next to him.

The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, was puzzled: he seemed not to know, and probably did not know, what the English captain meant. He therefore sent a boat, thinking it possible that the yacht might be in distress; when the captain told his orders, mentioning, also, that he had the ambassadress on board. Van Ghent himself then came on board, with a handsome compliment to Lady Temple; and, making his personal inquiries of the captain, received the same answer as before. The Dutchman said he had no orders upon the point, which he rightly believed to be still unsettled, and could not believe that the fleet, commanded by an admiral, was to strike to the King's pleasure-boat.

When the admiral returned to his ship, the captain, also "perplexed enough," applied to Lady Temple, who soon saw that he desired to get out of his difficulty by her help; but the wife of Sir William Temple called forth the spirit which we have seen in Dorothy Osborne. "He knew," she told the captain, "his orders best, and what he was to do upon them, which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children."* The Dutch and English commanders then proceeded each upon his own course, and Lady Temple was safely landed in England. She was much commended for her part in what had passed, and of which she was called upon to

* Sept. 14. 1671, ii. 180.

give an account to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the judge of the Admiralty. "When I went next to the King's levee, he began to speak of my wife's carriage at sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the captain's, and said she had showed more courage than he; and then"— (the *King* he must mean) — "falling upon the Dutch insolence, I said, that however matters went, it must be confessed that there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with Holland, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The King smiled as well as I;" very glad, probably, to escape a serious conversation with the man whom he had deceived and abandoned; "who had found this the only way to lure the discourse into good-humour; and so it ended."

Temple went into the royal closet to kiss the King's hand on the termination of his embassy; received some general and worthless compliments upon his services, with a promise, on Charles's part, of a favourable word to the Commissioners of the Treasury, and a present of the plate belonging to his embassy. "His Majesty seemed very much pleased I took it so kindly, and was so easily contented." "And thus an adventure has ended in smoke, which had for almost three years made such a noise in the world, restored and preserved so long the general peace, and left his Majesty the arbitrage of affairs among our neighbours, by the Emperor's and Spain's resolutions, as well as Swe-

den's and Holland's, to follow his measures for the common safety and peace of Christendom." *

Sir William Temple, on this occasion, again expressed his intention of quitting public life, observing, "that he had been long enough in courts and public business, to know a great deal of the world and of himself, and to find that they were not made for one another." † But this declaration, like many similar which have been made by politicians, was somewhat premature: Temple was still to be concerned in public matters of great importance.

* P. 182. During the whole period of Temple's stay at the Hague, Charles had professed to his parliament to adhere to the Triple Alliance. The session 1668 [see p. 201.] ended on the 8th of May, and the parliament did not meet again until the 19th of October, 1669, when the Lord Keeper Bridgeman thus addressed it: — "It is not unknown to you that his Majesty has been a happy instrument, by the treaty at Aix and by the Triple Alliance, to preserve peace between the two neighbouring crowns. The securing of that peace (wherein our own peace is concerned), and his Majesty's reputation abroad, will also much depend upon your kindness to him; and therefore he hopes you will consider of how great importance it is at this time that his Majesty be enabled to bear such a part in the affairs of Europe as may contribute most to his own honour, and the safety, benefit, and glory of this nation." (Parl. Hist., iv. 429.)

On the 11th of December, parliament was prorogued; and, when it met again, on Feb. 14. 1670, no mention was made of foreign affairs: but on April 11. it was adjourned to the 24th of October, when the Lord Keeper again referred to the Triple Alliance, and claimed for it a merit which neither Temple nor De Witt had espied in it. (p. 441. 457.)

"I think it necessary to put you in mind that since the close of the last war, his Majesty has made several leagues, to his own great honour, and of infinite advantage to the nation; one, known by the name of the Triple Alliance, wherein his Majesty, the Court of Sweden, and the States of the United Provinces are engaged to preserve the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle concerning a peace between the two then warring princes, *which league produced that effect, that it quenched the fire which was ready to set all Christendom in a flame, and, besides other great benefits by it which she still enjoys, gave opportunity to transmit those forces against the infidels which would otherwise have been imbrued in Christian blood.*"— Oct. 24. 1670; iv. 457.

† P. 182.

CHAPTER XV.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS. — LETTERS OF CONDOLENCE. — PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH ARLINGTON, BUCKINGHAM, AND TREVOR. — SURINAM. — PRINCE OF TUSCANY. — JEWS. — ARBITRATION BETWEEN HOLLAND AND PORTUGAL. — STAGNATION OF TRADE. — CORNET JOYCE. — THE GOUT. — WICQUEFORT.

1668—1672.

We now again advert to some matters which could not be noticed before, without interrupting the narrative.

Not long after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, De Witt lost his wife. Temple's condolence was judicious, and De Witt's reply appropriate; both letters are, without being cold or stiff, such as sensible men would write, on an occasion in which there is too much temptation to indulge in affectation of style and sentiment.* They, perhaps, have not peculiarity enough for repetition here.†

It would appear that the two statesmen had a sincere regard for one another; and it is not easy to understand why Lady Giffard, in mentioning their intercourse on the occasion of the Triple Al-

* July 3d and 27th, 1668; i. 432. and 493.

† See other letters of condolence, ii. 123. and 159.

liance, observes, " With this began, *I will not say a friendship, but* a trust and confidence between Temple and M. De Witt, from the experience as well as assurance of truth and fairness in their dealings, which helped much to the ease and despatch of those they were engaged in."

Temple continued to feel, as ambassador, the inconvenience from the irregularity of his receipts, to which he had been accustomed. The evil was now aggravated by retrenchments in diplomatic allowances.

" I must acknowledge your favour in the offers of taking care of me upon the service of the establishments for ambassadors; for, if it were my talent either to ask or complain, I doubt I should have as much reason as another man, in a place where, by all men's consent, the same train of living will cost full a third part more than either at Paris or London; and, for the necessity of appearing, the late ambassadors of France, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal, have brought it as high as any other court, by the number of liveries, and keeping public tables: whereas Sir Dudley Carleton, the last English ambassador, here kept no page, and but two footmen, and one coach and four horses, and had his house allowed him by the States, which is to cost me 200*l.* a year." After comparing his establishment with that of D'Estrades, he adds, that if they do not all consent to reduce, he will live on as he has, and trust to the King's mercy, as he did at Aix. " Since the King thought such retrenchments necessary, I was content to give the example, and

would go through with it, so long as my own fortune would bear me out without ruin. But in case the establishment be broken for other persons, I will not believe the King will break the absolute promise he made me (as the commissioners likewise did), that I should share with them to the full in the advantage of it, which is all the pretension I can recommend to my friends' justice and favour; for, in such a distinction, the dishonour of it will be yet more sensible than the disadvantage.*

To solicit the King's ministers for what was due to her husband, appears to have been the principal occupation of Lady Temple, who remained for some time in England after he went to the Hague †, and afterwards made occasional trips.

Lady Temple's entreaties at last procured from the King some boon, the nature of which is not explained. "I am ill at asking," says Temple, in allusion to it, "but never was so at acknowledging; therefore your lordship may justly believe all of that kind, which another would say, and instead of that trouble from you, I will beg another favour, which is that of assisting me in making those humble acknowledgments I owe to his Majesty upon this occasion, by assuring him, that *though what he pleased to do was only what he promised*, yet I esteem it as if it were properly a new grace." ‡

Although so "ill at asking," Temple solicited Lord Arlington's good offices, to obtain for him a present from the Spanish government, on the oc-

* Nov. 4. 1668. Jones, p. 27. † See Arl. 365. 396.
‡ June 18. 1669.

casion of his mediation at Aix.* We know not with what success this application was made. For many years such presents, generally in the shape of a snuff-box, with the head of the sovereign set in diamonds, were interchanged on the ratification of treaties. For a short time, under peculiar circumstances, this practice went too far; but it is not clear that the virtue which lately effected the abolition of it, is not, in Temple's words, rather formal and *peaking* †, though the minister ‡, by whom it was brought about, may not be of that character.

We have seen that Temple continued to correspond with Arlington; but the heartiness and freedom of the correspondence exhibited some indications of decay.

We have somewhere cited words supposed to have been used by Lord Arlington, expressive of the similarity of disposition between him and Temple. It would be difficult to say wherein the similarity consisted; the one being eminently manly and sincere, though *touchy* and tenacious; the other a double-dealer, through easiness and weakness of disposition. Yet Arlington, probably, had not only a good opinion of Temple, but much regard for him, though he might possibly feel some of the awe with which an upright man inspires a conscious deceiver.

Within one year after the Triple Alliance, Sir John Trevor being Secretary of State, and having

* April 1670. † See p. 303.
‡ Henry TEMPLE, Viscount Palmerston.

the department to which Temple's mission belonged, Arlington seemed to his sensitive correspondent to desire to discontinue or narrow their correspondence.

" I easily perceive," writes Temple on this occasion *, " by one I lately received from your lordship, that the more I write to Sir John Trevor in the course of my business here, and the less to your lordship, will not displease you; but that my correspondence is in time wholly to be devolved that way; which, if it be for your ease, I have reason to be satisfied with; and, having written at large to him this post, shall not trouble your lordship about anything that has passed in my business since my last; and shall govern myself in that matter as you shall think fit to command me. Sir John Trevor is a person I have much reason to honour, both for what belongs to his person and his charge; and I doubt not that the King will be very well served, and your lordship very well assisted, by him; *but yet he is not my Lord Arlington, and much less so to me;* and therefore, whatever comes of my correspondence, I will tell your lordship beforehand, that whenever you would turn off my dependence from your lordship to him, or to any other person, you will do me the favour to break off all other engagements likewise whereunto you have brought me, and to leave me just where you found me. For, besides other resemblances of love and court, that,

* Hague, Jan. 15. 1669. Sel. Let. 108. See Arl. 376.

I believe, may be one, that the first inclination makes ever the deepest impression, and is not worn out by new pursuits. At least, I am resolved not to try, nor to continue longer in public employments than I am borne up by my being thought useful, and by your lordship's particular friendship, which was both the occasion and the reward of my first coming in."

With Sir John Trevor, who was a man of good character and disposition, Temple was always upon friendly terms; but there was a gentleman in the secretary's department, now rising in importance, with whom, from an earlier period, he stood ill.

"I have not heard from Mr. Williamson *, I think, these three months, which, with some advices given me of being censured there for my carriage since I came hither, makes me reflect a little of very frequent discourses which Sir W. Godolphin† (in the time of our commerce) made me upon that subject of Mr. Williamson's being my enemy, and the reason I had to expect all ill offices from him. I know it was a compliment in him to say it was out of envy; but am sure I cannot think of no more reason he has from anything else than from that; for he is one whose good parts I

* See p. 264.

† This Godolphin, we believe, was the brother of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer to Queen Anne. We do not know what is meant by the expression, which would appear to imply a cessation of intercourse between Temple and Godolphin. On the 7th of June, 1670, Lord Arlington desired Temple, by the King's command, to use his influence to persuade Godolphin not to execute his purpose of coming to England from Madrid.—Arl. 435. It would hence be inferred that they were intimately acquainted.

always esteemed, and sought his good opinion, whether I deserved it or no. After I have said this, I shall only put your lordship in mind of what I formerly desired of you, — that if any ill offices are done me, I may have part of them; and I will promise you not to defend myself where they are true; and in the mean time assure your lordship that you may have deceived yourself, but I have never abused you in the good thoughts you have hitherto had of me, by appearing anything else than what I am, either in the sincerity of a plain man, or in the passionate affection and truth wherewith I am, as much as any man can be, yours." *

Arlington, who had no disposition to quarrel, returned a very friendly answer.

" I am this evening too much off the hooks to reply so obligingly to you as you have spoken to me upon the probability of my devolving the correspondence with you to Sir John Trevor. I cannot but tell you, which you know already, that you are under his distrust, and must therefore expect from him all the formal despatches, but shall never be eased of my particular ones till you give me cause, which I know you never will do, to love or value you less. Besides, *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum;* and I am resolved never to leave you till I have made you to make my own fortunes †; for which you have credit already, if you had also place for it; and believe

* Hague, Jan. 15. 1669. Sel. Let. 109.
† He probably means, " fortunes equal to mine."

me without flattery, you have enough of the former to deserve envy, which you must learn hereafter to live with.

"I have not yet spoken to Mr. Williamson concerning the correspondence you promised him; he shall himself answer for it and his omissions all this while: and for myself, believe it, there is no man living loves or values you more, nor can be with more truth your most affectionate and most humble servant."

Temple's reply was warm and grateful.

"I shall only say, in answer to the latter part of your lordship's of the 19th, that nothing ever went more and kinder to my heart than those expressions by which I was so well and so obligingly assured of that which is the most necessary to support me in a troublesome and envious employment; having ever preferred your lordship's friendship for the best reward of my endeavours and successes, which I am sure had never come abroad unless you had brought them and me together out of the shade, where I was very well content to have past a quiet life. While I enjoy this end, I know I shall not want envy, whether anything else be ever likely to raise it; and being satisfied the ill offices of such an enemy cannot prejudice me with your lordship, unless I join with it to give you cause, I shall very little trouble myself about the effects of it anywhere else, but, as you advise me, learn to live with it, since most men think that better than to live without it. I should never have understood what you meant by

my making your lordship's fortune, unless the wise man had helped me by saying, that *A faithful friend is as a hidden treasure;* and in another place, that 'tis *the medicine of life,* which, when all's done, is but disease without it, though, according to men's complexions rather than their fortunes, differing in its degrees and intermissions. But this I know is very impertinent to a minister and at court, and therefore I will leave it." *

Temple never dropped the style of thankfulness: — "I have received from my wife many new testimonies of what I owe to your lordship in the effect of her solicitations; and though I am ill at asking, I never was so at acknowledging; therefore your lordship may justly believe all of that kind which another might say; and instead of that trouble to you, I will beg another favour, which is, that of assisting me in making those humble acknowledgments I owe to his Majesty upon this occasion, by assuring him, that though what he pleased to do was only what he had promised, yet I esteem it as if it were perfectly a new grace, and shall endeavour to deserve it as far as I am able; at least so far as by never giving his Majesty occasion to think worse of me than he was pleased to do at my coming away. And because I hope your lordship dares answer so far for me, I will persuade myself you could not find his Majesty inclined to believe what my wife tells me had been reported to him, I should have said, of the Prince of Orange,

* Hague, Feb. 5. 1669. Sel. Let. p. 110.

about his adventure in Zealand*, without doing me justice. It is hard to imagine malice or mislike without any sort of ground; yet I wish this to be the last time I meet with them in the world. Whoever knows me at all, knows I would never say any such thing or anything like it; and I am very sure I never did, because I have neither been drunk nor in a fever since I knew him. I dare say everybody thinks him the farthest from it of any one of his age; and I am confident his Highness is satisfied — I am sure he professes to be so — that I fail in nothing that I owe him, though I do not offer to do him services that may hurt him. Yet I dare say he would very freely give me occasion of doing him such as he is willing to receive."

The language of commendation, not to say flattery, was kept up during the whole period of Temple's embassy: — "I heartily wish your lordship," he writes, in the month preceding his recall†, "all the recruits of health and ease and diversion that you purpose to yourself, and which are necessary to a person who is certain to spend the rest of the year in the constant diligences of a laborious service to his Majesty and the whole kingdom, and, perhaps, not without being engaged in many struggles of envy and cross sides of business that would shake a weaker hand. I am sure they

* In Sept. 1688, William made a sudden and secret journey to Zealand, where he was immediately *Premier Noble*, an honour to which he was hereditarily entitled, as being eighteen years of age. See Sel. Let. 77., and Trevor, i. 33.

† Aug. 17. 1670.

would make me cry out twenty times in a year, with our friend Horace, —

> 'Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis:
> O rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit,
> Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
> Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.' *

"I have wished twenty times that, instead of making any other journey here, his Majesty had given me leave to make this with your lordship; because I am so well acquainted with myself as to know that I become the country better than a court, and am, I doubt, a better gardener or shepherd than ambassador; and, perhaps, in some such quality as these I might now be of service to your lordship, and make some amends for my having been so long of none at all."

If Temple's letters to Lord Arlington are too much in the style of a flatterer, an excuse may be found in the kind and considerate friendship of that minister: and it must be allowed, that neither as to Arlington, nor to any other of his friends in high places, did Temple's deference at any time lead him into a dereliction of principle, or unworthy compliances. Still it were to be wished, that he had not addressed such passages as the following to *the Duke of Buckingham*: —

"I was in hopes a good letter may keep an ill one a little in countenance, and bear me out in taking this occasion of preserving myself in your grace's favour and memory, which I esteem among

* Hor. Serm. lib. ii. 6. 59.

my best possessions, and should be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by serving than by troubling you. Whilst I can do nothing towards the first, I will do less towards the other, and content myself to assure your grace, *in the language of a plain man*, that none can wish you happier than I do in the course of your fortune and honour, nor rejoice more in the presages I make of both, from those wise and generous dispositions I left you in, of employing those many great talents and advantages given you towards his Majesty's and the kingdom's true service and happiness.* I am still of the mind, nothing is more necessary to both than the continuance and exercise of that harmony which we used with so much reason to wish well to, and which, I think, has at this time more operation than that of the spheres was thought to have upon the good temper and order of the world. For, I believe, the spring of all the motions or quiet we are like to see round about us lies in that point, and those counsels that proceed from it."†

Indeed, though Sir John Trevor, the new secretary of state, was an honourable and consistent

* Certainly, if this was really proper language for a plain man, Buckingham was very ill used by the poets. Dryden has been partially quoted: every body remembers Pope's description of this great Duke's last illness, in 1687, "*in the worst inn's worst room.*" Temple scarcely felt himself intended in the line —

"No wit to flatter left of all his store;"

yet "great Villiers" probably seldom received a more laudatory epistle than that which Temple addressed to him. See Pope's "Moral Essay," iii. l. 299. in Roscoe's edit., v. 357.

† Oct. 12. 1668; ii. 25.

man, a little less of humility would have been better in the reply which Temple returned to the complimentary acknowledgment* of his congratulation: — "There is no sort of equality in that sort of commerce between us, all that I can say on that subject being but what is due from me to your office as well as to your person; whereas the least advances you please to make in that kind are more than I can pretend to, and therefore carry the weight of obligations."†

In reference to Trevor's appointment, Temple had previously thus written to Arlington:—"They will have it that the King lays down eight thousand pounds to bring this about‡, which is a good bargain both for him that comes in and him that goes off. God send they may think that *I* deserve my bread when abroad, and that I may be able to eat it when I come home, which will very much depend upon them, I am sure. *Pero lo mucho se guasta, y el poco basta*§; at least it will be to me whenever the King gives me no necessity of living, as I am sure I do now, to every body rather than myself."‖

The objects of Temple's adulation were not so well pleased with each other as he was with all of them. It seems that in the autumn of 1669 there were rumours at the Hague of disagreements be-

* Temple, ii. 188. † Oct. 22. 1668. Jones, p. 16.

‡ This pecuniary arrangement concerning offices holden during pleasure, is a strange proceeding, of which we shall hear more presently.

§ But *much is wasted, a little is sufficient.* — Spanish proverb.

‖ Oct. 5. 1668. Jones, p. 10.

tween Arlington and Buckingham, whose intrigues against him were supposed to extend even to the bringing back of the Chancellor Clarendon. This is an unsupported fancy, though the versatility of Buckingham might doubtless have led him into a step so strange, if the desire of the present moment was to humble Arlington. De Witt on this occasion signified his entire reliance upon Arlington and Bridgeman, until whose administration, he thought, "there had been no sound, and direct, and disinterested ministry since the days of Elizabeth."* The Dutchman was, perhaps, borne out in his estimate of former administrations: he soon found that the present afforded no advantageous contrast.

An introduction given to a Major Banister, who came over to Temple, with some complaints of the Dutch proceedings in Surinam, gave occasion for a letter in which Temple indulged in speculations other than political:—"By as much as I can judge of him, he is a plain honest gentleman, as knowing as any man in the affairs of those countries, where he has in a manner spent his whole life, and one of whom his Majesty may make good use, by the inclination he professes of returning again into that sunny climate, and the disposition he seems to have of preferring the ties of his will before any advantages he might make in any other subjection besides that of his Majesty. By what I can gather from our discourses here, the plantation

* Oct. 18. 1669.

of Surinam will never be maintained by the Dutch after the removal of those English among them; and next to having it a colony of our own, it seems our interest to have it none at all, for fear it comes to beat down the price of sugar from our other colonies. The English planters there, he says, are all desirous to remove, and will follow him to any place his Majesty shall assign them. That which he proposes, is either some other part of the coast of Guiana, where he seems to have hopes of finding his way to the gold so much dreamed of by Sir Walter Raleigh on that coast; or else to Jamaica, where he says our great want is planters, those we have there being either soldiers and rovers at sea, not such as will improve the stock of the island. Whereas he says those 400 or 500 English now at Surinam are as skilful and laborious planters as any are in the Indies: and it seems to be the weakness of our colonies in those parts, that our plantations are so much and so thin spread, that, to maintain and improve them in so many places, we must drain ourselves more than, perhaps, England can well spare; whereas, if we could stock Virginia from New England, and pursue the beginnings of silks there to perfection, and Jamaica from the Caribbee Islands, which all, except Barbadoes, are a prey upon the first breach with either French or Dutch, we need not, perhaps, trouble ourselves about any other colonies in the Indies, since Jamaica, both for sugar and *tobacco*, is thought better than either of them; besides, it would certainly bring the best spices if the plants

were there. Of this likewise I have discoursed with him; and he tells me there were some of *pepper* and *nutmeg* once brought safe and growing in his time in the *Barbadoes*, but pulled up in the night, they could never know how, but suspected from some hired by the Dutch to do it. What has been once, by the same industry may be again; and, perhaps, it were worth proposing to the more knowing, whether either grafts, or young plants themselves, might not be preserved the longest voyages, and through all climates, if put fresh in vessels of oil. I proposed it to the Major; and he thinks it might be better done by cloths steeped in oil, both which I mention as a hint of further enquiry, as all in a matter of so very great importance, and which would soon spoil the Dutch East India trade.

"I observed likewise in his discourse, that, of all nations, he finds the Scots the best planters; and it has been often in my mind that both from Scotland and Ireland we draw too few into our plantations abroad, and too many from England.

"These are the chief points I could mark in our conversation, and which I trouble your lordship with, because I know not whether the Major will have countenance in a court to talk as he has done with me, being, as he says, a mere Indian, and, indeed, I think as natural as they are, which commended him much to me."*

The following narrative would be more amusing,

* Hague, Dec. 19. 1668. Sel. Let., 105.

if we thoroughly understood the matter to which it relates:—The Prince of Tuscany* had been in England, and was now at the Hague. The English government, it would appear (but the matter is not clear), took an interest in a question of etiquette between this Prince and the French ambassador, who, as representative of the *Grand Monarque*, required of him the first visit. At all events, for some reason or other, his visit to the French ambassador was displeasing to the English. Temple mentions the Prince's arrival at the Hague, and his calling upon all the ambassadors, *except the French.*

"When he left this place," as Temple informs Arlington, "he told me he would not do it before he came to know what service he could do me in any parts where he was going; which I took to be an intention of visiting my wife. Yesterday came in the post from Italy; and about two o'clock this afternoon he sent his chief gentleman to me, to let me know he went out of town to-morrow morning for Amsterdam, and to assure me of his service, and particularly the resentment he should ever have of his Majesty's good usage wherever he went. And for a want of the confidence between us, he had likewise commanded him to tell me that the Prince had this morning received letters from his father, commanding him to go and inform

* Cosmo III., son of Ferdinand II. of the House of Medici, was born in 1642; succeeded his father in 1669; died in 1723. Les Dates, xviii. 90. A translation of this Prince's travels in England was published in 1820: in these he makes no mention of Temple.

the French ambassador how the matter had passed at London*, to the end he might thereupon inform his master, who had the case otherwise represented to him: and this, in order to the French King's being right informed in it, before the Prince's arrival at Paris; that upon these commands from the Duke of Florence the Prince had gone straight to the French ambassador, not upon any visit, but to inform him of the matter, and to desire him to certify his master of it; and had thought fit immediately to give me notice of it. I heard all this in a breath, without saying one word; when he had ended, and expected what I should say upon it, I said just these words: — "*Un bon sujet doit obéir son prince, et un bon fils doit obéir son père.* And so I fell to talk of something else, which I made hold out till he began to take his leave, which he saw was like to pass without any notice of the Prince's going, or compliment to him; and then he said, '*Je dirai donc à son Altesse, que sur ce que j'ai communiqué à votre Excellence vous avez dit qu'il avait bien fait, puisque son père l'avait commandé.*' I replied, '*Monsieur, vous me pardonnerez; je n'ai pas dit qu'il avait bien ou mal fait:' j'ai dit qu'un bon sujet,*' &c.; and then I repeated exactly the same words again. And so, after his compliments to me, without any return of mine, we parted at my chamber door. I am the more exact in this relation, because I saw the gentleman would have turned it otherwise than I did, and because it was

* That is, we presume, in what manner he had been received at the English court.

a ticklish point; and whether I came off as I ought to do, I cannot at all tell, being, as your Lordship knows, very new in these matters." *

Arlington's answer does not explain this apparently "much ado about nothing." "I am glad to hear your compliment passed so well with the Prince of Tuscany, and sorry that the great Duke his father should believe that the Prince had not suffered enough here, but would order him to carry the story of it to the French ambassador at the Hague; upon which occasion what you said to M. Castiglione is all that the matter will afford, or, at least that will be fit for him to be said upon it by us."†

The Prince made another attempt, and, finding Temple at Rotterdam, sent to propose meeting him in third places. He refused, avowedly on account of "the reason he had in particular, as well as the other ambassadors, to resent what had passed on his part towards M. Pomponne.‡ It was pretended that the Frenchman was not visited as an ambassador, but as a man with whom the Prince had business; but Temple replied, that "the father had been too hasty to command, and the son to obey."§

For the curious in such matters, rather than from the importance of the question, Lord Arlington's

* June 21. 1669. † June 18. Arl. 405.

‡ Simon Arnaud, Marquis de Pomponne, now ambassador at the Hague, and then in Sweden, succeeded Lionne as minister for foreign affairs in 1671. Louis found him unequal to his post, and dismissed him in 1679. Flassan, iii. 390. 471. Wicquefort speaks well of him, and praises his probity at the expense of M. de Lionne. p. 419.

§ July 2.

final reply is subjoined:—"I have given a distinct account to his Majesty; who, notwithstanding his great partiality for the Prince, approves entirely of your proceedings towards him. The truth is, after what his Highness has done to the French ambassador, I fear he must renounce all commerce with ambassadors as long as he is out of his own country. I find in his letter to Sir Bernard Gascoyne*, that he expects much from me to help him out of this distress. Though I have all the desire in the world to do it, yet I cannot tell how to apply that desire to his satisfaction. His Majesty seems very much troubled in his behalf, but knows not how to give him ease; neither can I so much as direct you how to write upon this subject to him, though I have spoken my mind pretty freely to Sir Bernard Gascoyne upon it, and concluded, that either abroad, in the future, he must fly the concertation of ambassadors, or go home, and expect his father's death in requital of the good office he hath done him."†

After the Prince's return to Italy, Temple corresponded with him. "I shall never think myself happy till I have paid my respects to your Highness at your own court; and I envy no man, at present, but my Lord Falconbridge‡, who is going on an embassy into so fine a climate, and among such

* Resident at Vienna. † June 29. Arl. 406.

‡ Thomas Belasyse, second Viscount Fauconberg, born about 1633, married Mary, the daughter of the Protector Cromwell, by whom he was employed as a diplomatist. He concurred in the restoration, and was now sent to Venice as Charles's representative. — Noble's Cromwell, ii. 388.

conversations as those of Italy, where wit and weather are equally clear, while I languish in a country where we breathe nothing but mists, and talk of nothing but business." * In thanking the Duke for a present of "the finest wines of Italy," he says, "They seem to resemble their Prince, in having lost nothing of their natural taste or goodness by the length of their voyage, or the extremes of heat or cold; and herein I am more obliged to your Highness than you imagine, not only in having made me taste the delights of so fine a climate in so miserable a one as this, but also having by the same means given me the talent of a drinker, a quality I wanted very much to acquit myself of in my embassy in Holland."†

Temple's popularity in Holland appears not to have been confined to the Christians. "On Saturday I was at the Jews' synagogue, where they inserted a solemn benediction and prayer for his Majesty, towards the end of their service, in the Spanish tongue, which they told me they had never done in honour of any ambassador before: they gave me other testimonies of their ambition to have his Majesty's protection." ‡

But the estimation in which Temple was held at the Hague—it might be said, in Europe—appears nowhere more highly than in the reference made to him by the ambassador of Portugal and the Pensionary De Witt, of some differences which had

* Hague, Dec. 5. 1669; ii. 74. † Hague, Aug. 25. 1670; ii. 125.
‡ Amsterdam, July 2. 1669.

arisen as to a certain pecuniary arrangement between the two countries. The name of an English minister has seldom been affixed to a document bearing this title:—"Sentence donnée sur l'affaire du Portugal et de la Hollande, par l'ambassadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux parties ont remis la decision finale de leurs différences, *non pas comme ambassadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.*"*

Our next extract developes some of Temple's views of political economy. On visiting Amsterdam in the summer of 1668, "The thing," he says, "I was the most surprised at was to hear the universal sad complaints of such a deadness of trade as was never known; for all agree that in the trade of the straits this year no man has gained enough to pay his insurance money; that in the English or Polish they have lost 14 or 15 in the hundred, and 35 or 50 in the French; that there is a glut of all commodities, and not money stirring to make the wheel go round. Reflecting upon this, and *what I hear of the same kind and to the same degree among us*, I cannot think or hear of other than these causes:—first, the great cheapness of corn in Poland, and all those northern parts, which hinders the usual vent of all commodities there, which were chiefly returned in corn to good profit, where it bore a price; 2dly, the vast buildings undertaken at this time, both in London and Amsterdam, which draw off so great a proportion of that stock

* August, 1669; ii. 60.

which used to be turned into trade: and I take the last enlargement of this town to be the falsest step this people ever took in the pursuit of their ends: 3dly, the great apprehension which France keeps the world in of new wars, and great revolutions likely to succeed them. I cannot but think that if, in such a conjuncture, we could fall into some of these people's maxims of trade, we might make a mighty step to it in a short time: but wailing of such matters is a dead thing, and so I shall leave it." *

Temple no where describes the maxims which he desires to borrow. The navigation law, which was borrowed from the Dutch, operated as a restraint upon trade, for the more important purpose of encouraging a navy. An investigation of Temple's speculation upon the low price of corn would lead us too far into Adam Smith and Macculloch. Upon his second cause, however, it is impossible not to observe, that, supposing capital dispersed in domestic buildings not to be reunited and employed in foreign trade, the effect would obviously be, that the capital left in that trade would be employed at greater profit: the trade would be less in extent, but more lucrative to those engaged in it.

Towards the conclusion of his embassy, Temple had upon his hands the only very unpleasant business which occurred during the life of De Witt.

He received orders† to arrest and send to England Cornet Joyce, by whom the late King had

* July 2. 1669.

† These orders are not to be found.

been forcibly taken out of the custody of the parliament at Holdenby Castle, and carried to the quarters of the mutinous army*, and who now resided at Rotterdam. This demand put the friendship of the Dutch to a severe test. By the government he was informed that the question rested with the magistrates of Rotterdam. These personages demurred, notwithstanding that the Dutch had sent two commissioners to induce them to comply: all they offered, after long debate, was, to bring up Joyce for examination by Temple himself; but they must discharge him, if neither by proof nor confession some charge could be substantiated against him. This would not do, said Temple: the King had demanded that the man should be sent over to England; and he now desired that he might be seized and kept in custody until the States of Holland should meet. The magistrates made many difficulties, reasonable in themselves, but somewhat evasive in their form; and when, at last, they gave orders for apprehending the man, he had made his escape, having evidently been forewarned of the attempt.

After essaying other plans, all of which were defeated by the unavowed determination of the magistrates, Temple gave up the pursuit.†

Neither the original orders, nor the acknowledgment of Temple's failure, are now to be found. It is therefore impossible to ascertain, and it is

* June 3. 1647. Hume, vii. 88.
† Aug. 15. 1670; ii. 144.

assuredly not easy to imagine, either upon what principle of international law the King of England demanded the person of Cornet Joyce, or on what motive of policy the demand was made.

When we treat of Temple's publications, we shall have to notice a specific for the gout. That which he now prescribed to his patron would be certainly more acceptable, but probably not more effectual, than his favourite *Moxa*.

"I hear that your Lordship is not at all content that your indisposition should pass for the gout; yet you will, I hope, allow your friends to be less unsatisfied, because it will help to accuse you of what they should not otherwise have laid to your charge, and because 'tis usually held that gout, which begins about your Lordship's age, is seldom violent, and a great mark of long life. After all this, I shall not be content unless your Lordship will send me word that you are well; though if it should prove that illness, I shall be glad to be your physician, and prescribe you no other remedies but some sweating exercises; or, if it continues then, to use the milken diet, at least, as far as morning and night: *let the noon meal take its usual course;* for of these two I have known of very great effects among my acquaintance both in Flanders and here, which are the regions of that disease."* Many a gouty *gourmand* would undergo a milk diet at breakfast and tea-time if he might freely enjoy his turtle and *entrées* at dinner; though he might in these days petition

* State Paper Office.

for a few hours' postponement after the *noon*, which appears to have been, in Temple's time, the hour of the principal meal.

Among the acquaintances which Temple had made when abroad, was Wicquefort, the author of "The Ambassador and his Functions." To him the ex-ambassador thus describes his situation in the autumn of 1672: — "Since his majesty has thought fit to change the course of his counsels, in the pursuit *of which I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the repose of Christendom and the good of both our nations*, I have had no share at all in public affairs, but, on the contrary, am wholly sunk in my gardening, and the quiet of a private life.... I will not tell you that I have succeeded so well in my small country designs as I have sometimes done in great ones; but, if ever any favourable accident (and this age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither, I would let you see that our buildings are not altogether without pleasantness; at least, I would make you confess that the fruits of my garden have another taste than those of my closet, and will preserve better than those of my embassies."*

For those who are versed in chymical enquiries, it is added, that Temple, in the year 1670, submitted to the King a project of a new method of making salt, which, it was hoped, "would have supplied the occasion of the foreign bay salt." Like

* London, Oct. 10. 1672; ii. 185.

other projects submitted to the government, this turned out to be nothing new. "It is the same as commonly made and used in England; it can only render our home salt more cheap, which, you know, is not very dear; and yet those who have tried it say, they are not sure it is so good for all purposes." *

* June 7. and 28. Arl. 435. 437.

CHAPTER XVI.

TEMPLE'S WORKS. — ON IRELAND. — ON POLITICAL INTERESTS OF EUROPE. — ON THE UNITED PROVINCES. — ON GOVERNMENT. — ON THE TRADE OF IRELAND. — ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN 1673. — LETTER TO LADY ESSEX.

1668 — 1673.

DURING his temporarary retirement, Temple composed many of the treatises which are included in the collection of his works. We will endeavour to notice these in the order of composition rather than according to the priority of publication.

A tract must, in the first place, be noticed, which was written previously to Temple's embassy to the Hague. "Before I go," he writes to Lord Arlington, "I take the liberty to trouble you with a succession of my follies, since you have so long been contented to bear them, and send you that discourse upon the Irish business which I spoke of before you left town, but could never see you at leisure enough for such an amusement; and therefore I adventured to show it to my Lord Keeper first, at my going to Tunbridge, who professed to be pleased with many hints it gave him."*

This pamphlet, which was published together with the select letters in 1701, but has not been

* To Lord Arlington, London, July 28. 1668. Sel. Let., 60.

included in Temple's works, is entitled "An Essay upon the present State and Settlement of Ireland."*

The first position put forward in this essay is, that the late settlement of Ireland was managed without skill, judgment, or equity. It was "a mere scramble." "The golden shower fell without any well-directed order or design, and was gathered up in greatest measures by the strongest or the nearest hands...." "The whole business was laid by the King upon one of his ministers, who, consulting sometimes, perhaps, with his advantages, and often with his ease, received information and proposals from such persons of all parties in that kingdom as were most presuming and forward to advise him, or most concerned to abuse him, or most artificial to cover their own or their party's interests with those of the crown, or to join them with those of the ministers themselves...." "The chief directors... not being resolute enough from their own good consciences or good conduct (which can make the bold and happy counsels, they durst not shake the hopes or pretensions of any of the parties, but rather offered at expedients, or at least appearances of pleasing all, and in some seeming equal degree; and not only those that had pretensions in that kingdom, but many in this who had no other besides the plea of some merit, the want of reward, or the particular grace of his Majesty, or some persons near him; and, following

* It occupies 21 octavo pages.

this uncertain course, they succeeded, as such counsels must ever do: instead of pleasing all, they pleased none; and, *aiming to leave no enemies to their settlement of Ireland, they left it no friends.*"

Still, Temple wisely abstained from proposing to alter this settlement, however unsatisfactory. With a view, however, to supporting the charge of the army in Ireland, his main propositions are, to subject all grantees of land to a quit-rent of one fourth of the annual value, and to impose a general land-tax."

Then he suggests that it might be advisable to "call to the King's privy council two of the Lords' and four of the Commons' house, out of four to be named by the Lords and eight by the Commons to that purpose, on the last day of this session, who shall be of the council till the next session of parliament, and there both witness and share in the good conduct of affairs, according to the true interests of the nation, as well as the application of the monies to the ends for which they are given." These ends he explains to be, not only the maintenance of the troops, but the improvement of the fisheries, and advancement of trade, which he proposes to effect by *regulating* the exportation of beef; or, perhaps, by setting up manufactories of linen.

Except inasmuch as he was always a stickler for minute regulations of trade, Temple, with a loyal and even devoted attachment to the monarchy, was assuredly *a liberal* in politics. Some of the suggestions now cited, and others hereafter to be

noticed, are such as might have been ascribed to a leaning toward republican institutions. But it is a remarkable circumstance, familiar to those who are acquainted with history, but suppressed by the "New Whigs," that the liberal politicians of the seventeenth century, and the greater part of the eighteenth, never extended their liberality to the native Irish, or the professors of the ancient religion.

Temple, accordingly, recommends "an uninterrupted pursuit of the old maxim, to supply all the vacant charges of great importance there, either civil or military, with persons *of English birth and breeding*. . . . To *own and support* on all occasions, that which is truly *a loyal English Protestant interest*, and to make it as comprehensive as can be, by bringing over to it all that can be gained by just and prudent ways, and *not to think of tempering interests any more than of balancing parties in that kingdom.* And, lastly, *to keep a constant and severe hand in the government* of a kingdom, composed of three several nations *, whose religion and language are different, and consequently the passions and interests contrary to one another, for *to think of governing that kingdom by a sweet and gentle obliging temper, is to think of putting four wild horses into a coach and driving them without whip or reins.*

In order to extend the Protestant and English

* By the third nation, he intends the Scots of the north of Ireland. They have now lost the appellation derived from their local origin, and are designated, from their religion, Presbyterians.

interest, and to counterbalance the greater concentration of the strength of the Scots and Irish, Temple would give privileges to all foreign Protestants, and render the four counties of Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow, and Washeford *, exclusively English; with the city of Dublin at one end, "*which ought ever to be kept a chaste English town.*" This great object, "though seeming difficult," was to be effected by one sanguine speculation, "by severe laws of plantation with English upon all the new disposed lands, and others of forbidding any British now in Ireland, upon change of their present abodes, to remove to any other, unless to one of these four counties, or any already there inhabiting, to remove without leaving another British in his seat; by severe exercise of the penal statutes against all priests or friars taken within these four counties, or proved to have been there within a prefixed time; by liberty or injunction to all proprietors to make new leases of their lands, to any British who shall offer them the same rents now paid by the Irish in the said counties; and by liberty given the King to buy any lands of Irish proprietors, within these bounds, at ten years' purchase, which is now the true value of lands in Ireland."

Such were, in 1668, Sir William Temple's views of the fit mode of governing Ireland. They are stated in illustration of the character of the man and of his times, and are left for the consideration of the reader. It is a melancholy truth, that the

* Wexford.

reflections of English or Irish, Orangeman and Romanist, must, in such a contemplation, be equally painful.

At this time also, Sir William Temple prepared (for the consideration of the Secretary of State) a survey of the constitutions and interests of the principal powers of Europe *, with their relation to England in the year 1671.† This tract is a fair specimen of the style of the author. With the exception of an exordium, which occupies a page and a half in one sentence, it is written easily and agreeably. In that lengthy sentence is considered the concern of England in continental politics. It is admitted that this country has less interest than any other in what passes abroad, because the numbers and natural courage of our men, and the strength of our shipping, have so many ages past (and still, for ought we yet know) made us a match for the greatest of our neighbours at land, and an over-match for the strongest of them at sea. But now that France is united and powerful by land, beyond all former example, and "the United Provinces have the greatest number of ships and mariners that ever yet were heard of under any state in the world," we are to consider that a conjunction of these two powers, "either by confederacy, or the submission of Holland, will form

* The Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders, ii. 209.

† This piece was not published till 1679.

the nearest approach that ever was made to our ruin and servitude."

He states clearly enough, and without any deep or notable observation, the separate interests and relations of the several countries; but his conclusions, or rather his speculations, are more remarkable than just or sagacious. Indeed, his speculations concerning the country which owed so much to his zeal and activity are scarcely honest.

After avowing that the King of England was at that time "the sole arbiter of the affairs of Christendom," he proceeds thus:—"Our interests abroad must lie in one of these points: either to preserve our present alliances, and thereby the peace of Christendom as it now stands; or to encourage France to an invasion of Holland, with assurance of our neutrality; *or else to join with France, upon the advantage they can offer us, for the ruin of the Dutch.*" Upon the first suggestion, namely, *perseverance in his own measures*, he says, it is to be considered whether a longer peace might not bring about an increase of the power of France and Holland, out of proportion to that of England: as to the second, he doubts whether France would attack, or the Dutch resolutely defend the United Provinces, without bringing us into the war, which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the trade of the world, and to grow stronger in proportion to them; but he does not feel certain, whether the French and Dutch might not find us out in this plan of acquiring strength while they were fighting; and join against us, as we and Holland lately did against

France: as to the third plan, he cannot make up his mind whether we should derive greater advantage than France from the ruin of Holland, and is doubtful whether Holland upon its fall would grow an accession to France, or to us, or live under the Prince of Orange, with our support; and whether we could maintain the maritime provinces alone.

Among the various doubts which he expresses on this third scheme, for ruining the Dutch by a joint operation with France, not the least curious follows: whether "our government would have credit enough in Holland to invite their shipping and traders to come over and settle in England, and so leave those provinces destitute of both!" Temple expresses, in conclusion, his unfitness for the consideration of these arguments; and it must be admitted that in handling, or even in stating or conceiving them, he loses that superiority over his contemporary politicians, which the straightforwardness of his practice would obtain for him. No statesman of our time and country would entertain for a moment any one of these schemes but the first.*

* Dalrymple says that Temple seems to favour the second plan. It must be admitted that in various of his writings he contemplates with satisfaction England at peace, and all the rest of the world at war; but in the present paper he betrays no leaning to any one of his schemes. Dalrymple suggests that this treatise by Temple shows it to be probable that Charles entered into the second Dutch war with the view of withdrawing from it; and he doubts whether Temple was originally an enemy to the second Dutch war. His disapprobation, Dalrymple thinks, may have arisen afterwards, out of his dislike to the Cabal. Although this document gives countenance to these suspicions, yet, taking in the whole tenor of Temple's correspondence and writings, we believe them to be groundless. See Dalr. i. 60.

If there were the slightest reason for doubting the genuineness of the treatise, from which these extracts are made, one would assert it to be impossible that these speculations should have been penned by Sir William Temple. He came from the public employment, in which it was his chief glory to have recovered the friendship of the Dutch Republic, and to rescue it from the influence of France; he had undertaken, so far as in him lay, for the future steadiness of the English councils in the alliance which he had made for England with this her old friend, and in the opposition which he had created to France; he had bought the Dutch government from France, by the promise of English support; he had more particularly answered for the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, and as for himself he had declared that no consideration should induce him to be accessary to a change of policy. And now he sits calmly down and addresses to the same minister, Bridgeman, a speculation in which he contemplates, with philosophical complacency, the utter ruin of that Dutch Republic by France, with the connivance or co-operation of England herself!

Temple, in fact, adhered faithfully to his principles and engagements; he was consistent in maintaining the policy of his deeds, against that which had the sanction of his words.* A philosophical love of freedom in discussion will scarcely account for even the suggestion of a breach of faith. Want of

* From the letter to Wicquefort (p. 363.) it appears that he soon recovered his tone. Probably, in his correspondence, he never dropped it.

clearness in thought, or in expression, is the original cause of much of the inconsistency charged upon men; this deficiency can scarcely be pleaded for Temple in the present case; we can ourselves assign no cause for this lamentable backsliding, more specific than the weakness of human nature.

This treatise is not the only one of Temple's writings, containing doctrines at variance with his practice.

In 1672, Temple wrote and published his *Observations upon the United Provinces*, the best known, perhaps, and the most highly valued of his works.

We hope and believe that, although party feelings have too much influence upon *Reviews*, the literary world is more fair and just in its dealings than the following description (in the preface) would indicate; and there is now a world of readers independent of the self-constituted judges of literature:— "I am very sensible how very ill a trade it is to write where much is ventured, and little is to be gained; since whoever does it ill is sure of contempt, and the furthest that can be, where no one provokes him to discern his own follies, or to trouble the world. If he writes well, he raises the envy of those wits that are possessed of the vogue, and are jealous of their preferment there, as if it were in love or in state; and have found that the nearest way to their own reputation lies, right or wrong, by the decision of other men. But, however, I am not in pain, for it is the affectation of

praise that makes the fear of reproach; and I write without other design than of entertaining very idle men, and among them, myself. For I must confess that being wholly useless to the public, and unacquainted with the cares of increasing riches which busy the world; being grown cold to the pleasures of younger or livelier men, and having endured the entertainments of building and planting, which used to succeed them; finding little taste in common conservation, and trouble in much reading, from the case of my eyes, since an illness, contracted by many unnecessary diligences in my employments abroad; there can hardly be found an idler man than I, nor, consequently, one more excusable for giving way to such amusements as this; having nothing to do but to enjoy the ease of a private life and fortune, which, as I know no man envies, so, I thank God, no man can reproach."

Without reading such passages as the latter part of this extract, Temple's character cannot be understood. It is impossible to read them, and acquit him of the *affectation* which he disclaims. We pass to his book.

If a few gallicisms were omitted, and some of the sentences broken, the first chapter, on the rise and progress of this commonwealth, would be an unexceptionable model of familiar history. Indeed, corresponding praise may be given to his description of the government and people: throughout the whole are dispersed many of the curious and ingenious speculations in which our philosophical politician delighted.

His idea of a Dutchman is such as we now familiarly entertain. "These people, who are naturally cold and heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable conversation, yet they want not plain downright sense to understand and do their business both public and private, which is a talent very different from the other; and *I know not whether they often meet.*" Certainly the one sort of talent often exists without the other; but we Englishmen flatter ourselves that the union of lively and useful powers is very common among us*, in spite of the physical impediments thus ingeniously set forth. "The first proceeds from heat of the brain, which makes the spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of thought lighter and quicker, and the range of imagination much greater than in cold heads, where the spirits are more earthy and dull; thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the impressions of it are deeper and last longer; one imagination being not so frequently or so easily effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller men more constant and steady, and quicker men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest ability in business seems to be the steady pursuit of some one thing, till there is an end of it, with perpetual application and endeavour not to be diverted by every representation of new hopes and fears of difficulty or danger, or of some better de-

* Although Canning, who was remarkably precise in business, may have been, in our time, the most illustrious example, he is by no means an exception to a rule. Pitt, we know, and Fox, as we have always heard, also united the two qualities. In living examples we are also rich.

sign. The first of these talents cuts like a razor, the other like a hatchet; one has thinness of edge and fineness of metal and temper, but is easily turned by any substance that is hard and resists; the other has highness and weight which makes it cut through, or go deep wherever it falls; and therefore one is for adornment, the other for use. It may be said, further, that the heat of the heart commonly goes along with that of the brain; so that passions are warmer where imaginations are quicker; and there are few men (unless in case of some evident natural defect) but have sense enough to distinguish in gross between right and wrong, between good and bad, when represented to them; and consequently have judgment enough to do their business, if it be left to itself, and not swayed nor corrupted by some humour or passion, by anger or pride, by love or by scorn, ambition or avenge, delight or revenge: so as that the coldness of passion seems to be the natural ground of ability and honesty among men, as the government or moderation of them, the great end of philosophical and moral instruction. These speculations may, perhaps, a little lessen the common wonder, how we should meet with in one nation so little show of parts and of wit, and so great evidence of wisdom and prudence, as has appeared in the conduct and successes of this state for near an hundred years; which needs no other testimony than the mighty growth and power it arrived to, from so weak and contemptible seeds and beginnings." *

* P. 114, 115.

Our author's notion of the effect of this coldness of head and heart, is probably exaggerated, and sometimes makes him libellous. According to him, no Dutchman or Dutchwoman ever falls in love! * In short, although Temple's essay is in some sort an eulogy upon the Hollanders, it is not easy to imagine a more dull and disagreeable people than he makes them out to be. And certainly the publication of this essay, full as it was of solid praise of the Dutch, was not calculated to overcome the prejudices of the gay and luxurious Charles. The only exception which Temple gives to the still monotony of their life, is their massacre of his friend De Witt †; "a person who deserved another fate, and a better return from his country, after eighteen years spent in their ministry, without any care of his entertainments or ease, and little of his fortune. A man of unwearied industry, inflexible constancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, and untainted integrity; so that whenever he was blinded, it was by the passion he had for that which he esteemed the good and interest of the state. This testimony," says Temple, "is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little interest to flatter, as honour to reproach the dead."‡

The simplicity of manners and habits, among those who bear high office, and the comparative equality of condition, and capacity of acquiring

* P. 141. † See the next chapter. ‡ P. 148.

power in the state, are enumerated among the causes of the prosperity of the United Provinces; and "through these causes, this stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercise of arbitrary power or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops, under the Spanish government, have since been enured to all of them in the highest degree, under their own popular magistrates; bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces, and oppressed with the most cruel hardship and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government." *

This is a matter of taste; for ourselves, we should prefer less of popularity in the government, and less of severity in the laws and taxes; not so much of equality in conditions, but more of literature and the arts; and we are contented with the constitution under which "the son of a cotton-spinner" may, with proud humility, receive the united suffrages of more than half the intelligence of the nation.

The chapter, "Of their Religion †," is remarkable. The "right of private judgment" is assuredly maintained with so much force and ingenuity, as to justify this remark of Mackintosh: —"All the modern encomiums on religious liberty have added little to this ‡;" and it is said that in consequence of the perfection of freedom in matters of belief,

* P. 117. † Ch. v. p. 151.

‡ A marginal note in Sir James Mackintosh's copy of Temple's works, obtained through the kindness of his son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq.

among the Dutch, "they argue without interest or anger, they differ without enmity or scorn, and they agree without confederacy."

On this topic of religious liberty, it must be observed, that "in the year 1583 it was enacted by general agreement, that the Evangelical," meaning, presumptuously, the Calvinistic, "religion should be only professed in the seven provinces; which came thereby to be the established religion of the state." * It was not only the *established* but the exclusive religion of the state. *None but a Calvinist could hold any public office.*† Again, "the Roman Catholic religion was alone excepted from the common protection of their laws." ‡ Religious freedom in these provinces, at this boasted period, thus appears to have been less extensive than it was in England; even previously to the last relaxation of our laws.

It is long since any religion whatever was without *protection* in England.

It may be a question, whether the absence of vehement disputes about religion, among the Dutchmen of 1672, ought not rather to be ascribed to the general conformity of their religious belief, than to its freedom.

* P. 156.

† We do not know that there was any law for excluding Dissenters from a seat in the States General; but the influence of the Calvinistic magistrates was sufficient to exclude them. Gibbon is one of the writers who have pronounced this essay "excellent." [x. 192. edit. 1790.] We do not believe that Gibbon would have approved of Temple's religious sentiments: and his testimony induces us to regard it with more disfavour.

‡ P. 158.

In his summing up, Temple observes, "However it is, religion may possibly do more good in other places, *it does less hurt here.*" It is impossible not to admit that the writer attaches rather too little of importance to the discovery and assertion of religious truth; and this feeling is heightened by a curious introductory passage, wherein, after stating his "belief that the reformed religion was introduced into the United Provinces, as well as England, and the many other countries where it is professed, *by the operations of Divine will and Providence,*" he adds, "*by the same,* I believe, *the Roman Catholic was continued in France,* where it recovered by the concurring of so many accidents in the beginning of Charles IX.'s reign, when near a change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the will, but the power of God." Certainly it cannot be said without impiety, that *any* change occurs in the affairs of a state without the operation of the Divine will; by that inscrutable will, *evil* as well as good exists in the world. We know no more why a false religion is permitted, (and while religions differ so much, they cannot all be true,) than why murders and oppressions are permitted; a religion may be permitted to exist and to flourish, and yet be false and hurtful.

We can accompany Temple when he says, "that religious men put too great weight upon those points of belief which men never have agreed in, and too little upon those of virtue and morality, in

which they have hardly ever disagreed." We believe that good men, in teaching the efficacy of the atonement, and the necessity of faith, have sometimes unintentionally, but in effect, depreciated the necessity of good works. But we cannot approve of the general tone and tenor of this essay upon the religion of the Dutch, which, as it would give to all religions, true and false, the same favour in the eye of the state, does support too much the charge, not of unbelief, but of indifference, which has been frequently urged against Sir William Temple.

There is nothing peculiar in Temple's history of the rise and progress of the trade of the United Provinces. Their situation, the freedom of their institutions, and "the dearness of land, which turns money to trade," are casually enumerated as the causes of a commerce so disproportionate to the extent of the territory. A more questionable cause of prosperity is added, "The *severity of justice*, not only against all thefts, but all cheats, and *counterfeits of any public bills* (*which is capital* among them).*

Then follows an argument, to show the great advantage which the Dutch have in the smallness of their consumption, compared with the extent of their trade. Perhaps, if trade were the end, and not the means, this comparison would be a matter of boast. But inasmuch as the object of commerce

* It is to be lamented that Sir James Mackintosh made no note upon this passage.

is to provide for the largest number of people possible the largest quantity of useful or agreeable commodities, wheresoever produced, this niggardly use of good things, though it did occasion an increase of the transport trade from Dutch ports (which is itself very doubtful), would not be a matter of gratulation to the Hollanders. Without going deeper into political economy, it may be recommended to those who are taken with Temple's notion of selling much, and buying little to consider whether they find greater pleasure in the possession of any number of pieces of money, or a pound of tea, a bottle of wine, a horse, or a picture.

The last chapter of Temple's essay is entitled, "The causes of their fall in 1672." — "It was a shrewd slip," says Roger North, "of a politician, Sir William Temple, who, writing memoirs of the United Provinces, showed the reasons of their rising, and concluded with showing the reasons of their fall *before they were down.*" *

The campaign of 1672, no doubt, was very unfavourable to the Dutch; they lost some of their strongest towns, and three of their provinces were occupied by the French; but all these disasters were temporary; their alliances with the Emperor, and other princes of Germany; their own valour and constancy, after the first peace, and the heroism of their youthful chief, preserved their independence, which they retained for more than a century. "The causes," therefore, "of their fall, ought

* Examen, p. 471.

rather to be, the causes of the early success of the French arms in 1672. These Temple thus enumerates.

First, their boasted trade, which turned their attention to the arts of peace, and repressed the martial spirit among them; the reliance which they placed upon the treaty of Munster, for their safety by land, and the consequent application of their whole care to the navy, led them to reduce their foreign officers and troops.

But above all, the *perpetual edict**, for excluding the Prince of Orange from the civil and military government, and the consequent exclusion of the old officers who were attached to the house of Orange, whom they now desired to replace by the sons and kinsmen of less martial burgo-masters.

There were also errors in their foreign policy. They did not sufficiently contemplate the junction of France and England; and the more republican party were afraid that an alliance with Charles would bring about the restoration of the Prince of Orange.

"These considerations made them commit three fatal oversights in their foreign negotiation; for they made an alliance with England, without engaging a confidence and friendship; they broke their measures with France, without closing new ones with Spain; and they reckoned upon the assistance of Sweden, and their neighbour Princes

* Against this, and the reduction of troops after the peace of Munster, Mackintosh writes, "Errors of De Witt." See Trevor, i. 25.

of Germany, without making them sure by subsidiary advances before the war began." Surely Temple is here a little hard upon his friend De Witt, by whom these measures were taken. He himself taught the Dutch minister to rely upon the steadiness of England's friendship, and seduced him into a breach with France. The States could not possibly go farther in assisting Spain, without the zealous co-operation of England, which, as no man knew better than Temple, they could by no means obtain. Perhaps it might have been possible to subsidize Sweden, and that is the extent of the error.

With equal unfairness, Temple alleges that the alliance with England was "unhappily cultivated." Surely the fault lay, in great measure, with England; nor could England's coldness have been safely met by more eager approaches from Holland, without incuring danger from France. On the whole, we may not only agree with Roger North, that Temple accounts for a misfortune which never occurred, but we may ascribe that which did happen to the inability of a weak state to resist an unprincipled combination of two mighty neighbours.

It was also during this interval of leisure, that Sir William Temple composed, though he did not at that time publish, his *Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government.** If this treatise does not contain any very clear or precise account of the

* Vol. i. p. 1.

origin of governments, the fault is not in the author. The subject is necessarily one of speculation, and Temple's conjectures are as good as those of other writers. He attributes something to climate, supposing the nations of the hotter regions, and those of the very cold, to be more easily susceptible of monarchical dominion, than those who inhabit the temperate climates in which the strength and activity of the mind are more freely developed; and he justly concludes, that the populous countries, where men are congregated in cities, have a tendency to republican government.

Another of his speculations is, that governments sprang from the extension of paternal or patriarchal authority. This opinion of the actual history of governments is not to be confounded with the doctrine broached, a few years afterwards, by Sir Robert Filmer *, who traces monarchical government to Adam, and upholds divine indefeasible hereditary right. With him Temple no more agrees than with those "great writers upon politics and laws †"

* *Patriarcha*, published in 1680.

† To what writers does Temple allude? When he speaks of some writers who treat men as sociable, others as creatures of prey, has he in view any particular books? Locke's Treatise on Government, in which the doctrine of *an original contract* is maintained, was not published till 1689. Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, has a similar speculation, which is certainly not one of those which entitle him to the epithet *judicious*. This is admitted by Mr. Hallam, to whom that term might, with at least equal justice, be applied. (Const. Hist. i. 300.) Locke's book contains certainly a triumphant answer to Sir Robert Filmer, whom he easily reduces, by a process unnecessarily and tediously long, to a manifest absurdity. But Locke's substituted theory (which Hooker anticipated and Temple rejected) is scarcely, if at all, less untenable than Filmer's. Locke's absurdities have nowhere been more

who make government the result of *original contracts* among men. "This principle of contract," he thinks, "as the original of government, seems calculated for the account given by some of the old poets of the original of man, whom they raise out of the ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect stature and strength." Whereas, in reality, "the first numbers of them, who in any place agree upon any civil constitution, must have assembled, not as so many single heads, but as so many heads of families, whom they represent in the framing of any compact or common accord, and consequently as persons who have already authority over such numbers as their families are composed of." This paternal authority in the head of a family became gradually monarchical in the head of a state.

The difference between Temple and the popular writers upon government really extends only to the facts of history. There is none, as to the relative situation of the governors and the governed. "The ground upon which all government stands is the consent of the people, or the greatest and strongest part of them; *whether this proceeds*," continues Temple, in a strain which might have been approved by Burke, "*from reflections upon what is past, by the reverence of an authority under*

completely exposed than in the History of the Revolution in 1688, by *George Moore*. (London, 1817, pp. 265. 314.) Moore refers, very properly, to Burke's Reflections, for views of government more correct than Locke's. We cannot mention theories of government without also referring to the Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs on the doctrine of *majorities*. — Works, vi. 210. See the Eccl. Polity, b. i.; Works, i. 242. It is possible that Temple may have referred also to Harrington.

which they and their ancestors have for many ages been born and bred, or by a sense of what is present, by the ease, plenty, and safety they enjoy, or from opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have for the present government, or hopes from another. Now that government which takes in the consent of the greatest number of the people, and consequently their desires and resolutions to support it, may justly be said to have the broadest bottom, and to stand upon the largest compass of ground; and if it terminate in the authority of one single person, it may likewise be said to have the narrowest top, and so to make the figure of the firmest sort of pyramid." The pyramid may be claimed by a democrat for the strength of the base; by a monarchist for the beauty of the summit.

In the summer of 1673, Temple, being then upon a visit to his friends in Ireland, addressed a letter to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant, on the advancement of the trade of that country.*

Not much commendation, except for good intentions, can be bestowed upon this treatise.

The suggestions are fanciful, and partake of that love of rigid and minute restriction, which marked for many centuries the legislation of England, and lasted even longer in Ireland. He proposes to "remedy, by severe laws," the miscarriages in

* "An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland, written to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom." iii. 1.

making up the several commodities for foreign markets. Indeed, the butter laws, lately repealed*, with the concurrence of Whigs and Tories, appear to have been first suggested in this essay. The suggestions, of which the object, if not the mode, is most conformable to modern notions and practice, are those which are offered for the improvement of the breed of horses †: he would make the king purchase the best horses, as well as encourage them by *Plates*; and "for honour, the Lord Lieutenant may even be present himself, or at least name a deputy in his room, and two judges of the field, who shall decide all controversies, and with sound of the trumpet declare the two victors. The masters of these two horses may be permitted to ride from the field to the Castle with the Lord Lieutenant, and to dine with him that day, and there to receive all the honours of the table:" whether this crowning honour to the owners of the winning horses was to consist in sitting on the right and left of the Lady Lieutenant, or in being copiously plied with the best wines of his Excellency's cellar, Sir William Temple does not explain.

But Temple's care extended not only to horses highly bred; he urged the revival of "the statutes against that barbarous custom of plowing by the tail;" not, as modern legislators have suggested, for

* By act introduced by Temple's present biographer when Vice-President of the Board of Trade, 1829.

† P. 21.

the cruelty which it inflicted upon the animals, but in order to induce farmers to employ oxen, for the sake of saving the expensive harness which the disuse of the tail would render necessary for their horses.

Nor was it only to the country gentlemen, and owners of high-bred horses, that Temple's project would bring additional honour. "I see no hurt," he says, "if the King should give leave to the merchants in eight or ten of the chief trading ports of Ireland to name for each town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant should choose two, to be of the privy council of Ireland, with a certain salary from the King to defray their attendance."

These notices may suffice for a notion of the views of Sir William Temple as a political economist for Ireland. He met, however, in that fertile country, with some projectors bolder than himself, whose "airy propositions" he took pains to expose. One of these was a suggestion for remedying the scarcity of money, "by raising some or all of the coins." Compared with this scheme for tampering with the currency, Temple's suggestions are unquestionably harmless.

Enough at present of suggestions for advancing the trade of Ireland. That trade has now for a long time flourished; and the cause assigned, as well as the effect perceived, has long ago disappeared. It can no longer be said that "the want of trade in Ireland proceeds from *the want of peo-*

pie." Whether is the disease or the remedy more severe?

In the autumn of 1673, after Charles had been bribed by Louis into the second Dutch war, Temple's advice on public affairs was asked by the Duke of Ormond; and the answer was afterwards published.*

There is a remarkable difference between this paper and Temple's speculations in general. It is not, like the treatise addressed to Lord Keeper Bridgeman, a political exercise, but the genuine and sober opinion of a statesman, as to that which "was" really "to be done." As such, and for its unusual consistency and clearness, it shall have our special notice.

"It is to be considered," says Temple, in the first place, "whether we can pursue our war with Holland, and yet preserve our peace with Spain; whether we are able to maintain the war with both in conjunction with France; and if not, what there is left for his Majesty to do, with the best regard for his honour and safety."

As Holland and Spain had lately formed a closer union, he thought it probable that Spain would unite with Holland, if the war continued; and he conceived that our resources would not be sufficient to enable us to carry on the war against these two powers, especially as the war with Spain would in-

* "To the Duke of Ormond, written in October, 1673, upon his Grace's desiring me to give him my opinion, what was to be done in that conjuncture" ii. 234.

jure our commerce more than we could harass that of Holland. The "hearts," moreover, "of the Dutch had been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the great extremities which were threatened them from the war, and by the general opinion of the justice of their cause, both from these circumstances and from the manner of the French and our beginning the war." They therefore were willing to make sacrifices and exertions;—"circumstances, which would not be found in our dispositions or constitutions." We could not expect much more in "supplies from France *;" nor were the prospects from parliament promising. "The credit of the Exchequer was irrecoverably lost by the last breach with the bankers." All therefore that was left to carry on the war was "the humour of the nation; and this sometimes would go farther than any treasures, if spirited by hatred or revenge." But there was no good-will in the country towards the war: "after so long hostility, and four battles, the nation did not seem at all to be angry, though this is the first thing should be brought about if we would have men fight."

Temple's conclusion was, that the King must either make a peace, or "turn the war directly upon such points of honour, justice, and safety, as might engage parliament and the nation in the

* The receipt of money from France for the support of the war, it appears, was not made a secret; but when, or how, or with what explanations it was communicated to parliament, or to the public, is not clearly ascertained. The conditions were at the time suspected, but not surely known for a century.

support of the war; and to do this, he must at least offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humour and spirit of the nation would run."

Under these impressions Temple counselled the conciliation of the Spaniards, by assuring them of our neutrality in case of a rupture with France, and of our desire of their mediation if we should treat of peace with Holland. As to the terms of peace, "the best way was, to seek without justice where the justice lay, and the true interest of his Majesty's crown, as it was generally understood by the people, of which the scene of parliament would be the best testimony." The "points of justice" reached only to the business of *the flag*, and of Surinam. The question of the flag would be best settled in a separate negotiation with Holland, because in a general treaty our friends would be against us, as well as our enemies. Surinam was a trifle. The East India question, and the fishery on our coasts, might be adjusted. Temple discouraged the notion of exacting money from Holland for the expenses of the war, and contemplated rather a future treaty for a mediation between France and Spain to be supported by a subsidiary arrangement.

It was suggested, that any relaxation of the King's demands should be grounded "upon the satisfaction he should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of Orange to the charges of his ancestors." But Temple strongly advised against insisting upon any further advantages to the Prince.

If a peace should be obtained in this manner, England would be in a most advantageous position; enjoying the trade of the world when Holland and the House of Austria were engaged in war with France; and the King might hereafter mediate a peace between them.

It was recommended that the King should fairly represent to France the necessity of a peace, owing to the temper of the nation, unless France would support all extraordinary charges; that he should announce his intention of neutrality as to Spain, and desire the consent of France to a separate peace with Holland. "If France will not consent either to furnish us with money sufficient to carry on the war, nor to our neutrality with Spain, nor peace with Holland, *it would then be considered whether France in the like case would suffer such a conjuncture as this to escape them, upon any ties or treaties between us,* or whether indeed any prince or state would do so." In other words, as it was not probable that France, in a similar case, would be deterred by her engagements with us from availing herself of a state of things so favourable to her interests, England was to pursue the course recommended, whether France should approve of it or not. Some difficulty Temple foresaw, from the "want of reputation and trust with the governments of Spain and Holland, which had been foiled of late by the breach of our former alliances." But as the counsels now to be pursued were evidently conducive to the true interests of England, he thought that our neighbours would

give us credit for a sincere intention to maintain them.

Such were Temple's sentiments in respect of foreign policy: they must be borne in mind when his future operations in diplomacy are related. He concluded with a few words on domestic affairs. He truly observes, that the credit of the government abroad will be great in proportion to the credit which it enjoys at home. A king of England at the head of his parliament and people may do any thing. "But in running on counsels contrary to the general humour and spirit of the people, the king may indeed make his ministers great subjects, but they can never make him a great king."

All this is well enough; a king, undoubtedly, who has a concurring parliament and an applauding people will govern in grandeur and renown: the more difficult and important questions, who constitute the people? and how are their opinions and wishes to be ascertained? and how far it is the duty of a sovereign implicitly to follow them? are questions which Temple has nowhere very successfully handled. The defect was not in Temple alone. Plausibility, vagueness, and inconclusiveness, are found in all the works on government of that age: we have lived to see these faulty works refuted, excelled; and now again applauded, and imitated, and adopted as a rule of practice.

Temple's character and powers are both to be admired, for the only other piece which we know to have been written at this period,—his "Letter to

the Countess of Essex *" upon her grief occasioned by the loss of her only daughter. The whole letter should be read, but some passages shall be selected for the style, others, for the feeling which they exhibit. " When you go about to throw away your health, or your life, so great a remainder of your own family, and no great hopes of that into which you have entered, and all by a desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually subject; for God's sake, madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a person, as your Ladyship appears to the world in all other lights. I know no duty in religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his will in all things, nor do I think any disposition of mind can please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all that he takes away. None, I am sure, can be of more honour to God, nor of more ease to ourselves; for if we consider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to distrust him; so that we may be confident, whatever he does is intended for good, and whatever happens that we can interpret otherwise, yet

* Vol. iii. 519. Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland; born 1636, married, in 1653, Arthur Lord Capel, created Earl of Essex in 1661. This lady's fortitude was put to severer tests; for, of two daughters and six sons, only one daughter and one son survived her, and her husband was found in the Tower with his throat cut, in 1683. Collins, ii. 353., and iii. 481.

we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.... *If you look about you, and consider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge, if you think how few are born with honour, how many die without name or children, how little beauty we see, how few friends we hear of, how many diseases and how much poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and instead of repining at one affliction, will admire so many blessings as you have received at the hand of God* *....

"God Almighty gave you all blessings of life, and you set your heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: is this his fault or yours? nay, is it not to be very unthankful to heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the world? Is it not to say, because you have lost one thing God has given, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to say, since that one thing is gone out of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can deserve your kindness or esteem?.....

"Your extreme fondness was, perhaps, as displeasing to God before, as now your extreme

* In reference to this passage, Blair writes: — "With regard to the length and construction of sentences, the French critics make a very just distinction of style into *style periodique* and *style coupé*. The *style periodique* is, where the sentence is composed of several members linked together, and hanging upon one another, so that the sense of the whole is not brought out till the close. This is the most pompous, musical, and oratorical manner of composing, as in the following sentence of Sir William Temple.... Cicero abounds with sentences constructed after this manner." Lectures on Rhetoric, i. 260., edit. 1793.

affliction; and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. It is at least pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits, rather than to injustice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the issues of his providence in the effects, than enquire into the causes: for submission is the only way of reasoning between a creature and its Maker; and contentment in his will is the greatest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes." After these appeals to religion, he gives worldly reasons for controlling the violence of her grief; urging her duty to her husband, her son, and her friends:—"*I was in hope,*" he says in concluding, "*that what was so violent could not be so long; but when I observed it to be stronger with age, and increase like a stream the farther it ran; when I saw it draw out to such unhappy consequences, and threaten no less than your child, your health, and your life, I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyship, for God's sake, and for your own, for your children and for your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourself to disconsolate passion, but that you would at length awaken your piety, give way to your prudence, or, at least, rouse up the invincible spirit of the Percies, that never yet shrunk at any disaster* *;" that you would sometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your

* On this passage, with one from the Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning, Blair, after noticing an unharmonious sentence from Tillot-

family, not always the losses; cherish those views of good humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and sear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your children and to yourself; but, above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health and your life, for your friends' sake at least, if not for your own."

[illegible] "Observe, now, on the other hand, the ease with which the following sentence glides along, and the graceful intervals at which the pauses are placed. . . . Here every thing is at once easy to the breath, and grateful to the ear; and it is this sort of flowing measure, this equable and proportionate division of his sentences, which renders Sir William Temple's style always agreeable. I must observe, at the same time, that a sentence with too many rests, and these placed at intervals too apparently measured and regular, is apt to savour of affectation." &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND DUTCH WAR. — THE PRINCE OF ORANGE STADTHOLDER. — MASSACRE OF DE WITT. — PARLIAMENT. — MINISTERS IMPEACHED. — TEMPLE NEGOTIATES THE PEACE OF 1674. — DECLINES THE SPANISH EMBASSY — AND SECRETARYSHIP OF STATE. — NOMINATED AGAIN TO THE HAGUE. — REMARKABLE CONVERSATION WITH CHARLES.

1671—1674.

AFTER Temple's recall, Charles had pursued boldly his new career. Sir George Downing was again sent to the Hague; a step for which Arlington thus accounted: — "Sir William Temple's three years being upon the point to expire, his Majesty has notified his revocation of him, as likewise his intention to send another person in his stead, *which his Majesty desires to find out with a rougher hand*, that it may incline these people to give him satisfaction in many points relating to the commerce, instead of putting themselves to the pains of inventing new ways *of entangling him in politic ties to his disadvantage.*" * Downing took Temple's house and furniture off his hands. † But he did not

* To Sir W. Godolphin, July 6. 1671. Arl. ii. 328.

† Temple says, that "his advantage was but small in comparison with what he lost by the stop of the Exchequer, which sunk all that he had in Alderman Backwell's hands." That measure he ascribes to Clifford. ii. 184.

long remain in it, for his great unpopularity among the people excited a commotion which frightened him away, and Temple had the satisfaction, (for we fear it must have been pleasing to him,) to see his rival sent to the Tower for coming over without leave.*

The Dutch had reason to be excited and alarmed; since the English Admiral Holmes had made an unexpected, but unsuccessful, attack on their Smyrna fleet†; a transaction justly condemned by historians and jurists.‡

This decisive demonstration was followed by declarations of war by France and England §, on grounds alleged, of which the weakness sufficiently marked the real origin of the war, in ambition, caprice, and self-interest. The war commenced with successes very ill-deserved, the English

* Temple to his brother, Sheen, May 23. 1672. ii. 183., and Arl. ii. 355, 356.

† March 13. 1672. Campbell (1812), ii. 387.

‡ Justly, but often upon erroneous grounds. The wrong consisted not in attacking the fleet without a previous declaration of war. If the Dutch had given us a clear and notorious cause of war; if we had made a demand of right, and had received a refusal; if the Dutch had committed, and, after remonstrance, had persevered in, an unequivocal breach of treaty, Charles would have been perfectly justified in redressing the wrong done to him, or in recovering his rights, by the forcible seizure of the ships, goods, or territory of the wrong-doer. But, in the present case, our complaints were comparatively unimportant, and were fairly matters of doubt and controversy; nor had the discussions concerning them ceased. Under such circumstances, the attack upon the Levant fleet was an outrageous proceeding. There is, however, another view in which it may be placed more favourably. The fight began upon the Dutch refusing to lower their topsails. If the English had a right to exact this respect to their flag, in the Channel (and this right was soon afterwards established by treaty), the admiral was justified in enforcing it by his fire. But the right was, in truth, under discussion; and this mode of bringing the question to issue was unjustifiable.

§ Parl. Hist. iv. 512. Hume, vii. 479. Flassan, iii. 410.

having obtained a naval victory in Southwold bay*, and the French having made, in the summer of 1672, easy and extensive conquests in the United Provinces.† When the States sued for peace, the two monarchs demanded unreasonable terms. The Dutch people were in despair, and looked anxiously to the Prince of Orange, who began to display the firmness of his character. But De Witt persevered in excluding him. The result was a popular commotion, especially in the province of Holland, where the people rose, obtained a forced repeal of the Perpetual Edict, and the nomination of the Prince of Orange, first to the offices of Captain-General and Admiral, and afterwards to the Stadtholderate of Holland and Zealand.‡ This was soon followed by the massacre of De Witt and his brother.§

So long as he could, Charles had carried on the war without resorting to his parliament. When he at last assembled it‖, he found no such zeal for the war as had existed in 1662, but there was no op-

* May 28. 1672. Campbell, p. 390.
† Hume, vii. 487.
‡ Trevor, i. 49. 51.
§ Memoirs, ii. 261.
‖ The parliament, which had met in October, 1670 (p. 352.), was prorogued on April 22. 1671. When it met again, on Feb. 4. 1673, the King thus announced his proceedings: — "Since you were last here I have been forced into a most important, necessary, and expensive war; and I make no doubt but you will give me suitable and effectual assistance to get through with it. I refer you to my declaration for the causes, indeed the necessity, of this war; and shall now only tell you that I might have digested the indignities to my own person, rather than have brought it to this extremity, if the interests as well as the honour of the whole kingdom had not been at stake; and if I had omitted this conjuncture, perhaps I had not again ever met with the like advantage." Parl. Hist. iv. 495. 502.

position to it, and a supply was readily granted. The Commons were employed upon religion, and grievances at home. The naval actions were of doubtful success. Louis, vigorously opposed by William and Montecuculi, lost ground in the Netherlands.* A congress was held fruitlessly, at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden. In a subsequent session of parliament, the indisposition to the war and the French alliance, and the suspicion of popish counsels, became decided.† Shaftesbury joined the opposition; and in the session ‡ of 1674, Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Temple's friend Arlington §, were accused by the House of Commons.

Buckingham and Arlington were by this time quite separated; and the Duke, when heard at his own desire in the House of Commons, accused his colleague of originating the Dutch war, without a previous notification to parliament. The breach

* Hume, vii. 510.

† Parliament had sat till March, 1673, adjourned to Oct. 20., and was prorogued to the 27th, in consequence of the opposition to the Duke of York's marriage with the Catholic Princess of Modena. The King then spoke thus: — "I thought this day to have welcomed you with an honourable peace. My preparations for the war, and condescensions at the treaty, gave me great reason to believe so; but the Dutch have disappointed me in that expectation, and have treated my ambassadors at Cologne with the contempt of conquerors, and not as might have been expected from men of their condition. They have other thoughts than peace." Parl. Hist. iv. 585, 586.

‡ The session last mentioned lasted only a week, which was occupied in complaints of grievance, condemnation of the foreign policy and the Duke's match, and the refusal of supply. But the houses met again on Jan. 7. 1674, when, after a short speech from the King urging vigorous war as the means of obtaining peace, the new Lord Keeper Finch made a long harangue, in which he laid great stress upon the matter of *the flag*. IV. 611. 615.

§ Clifford being dead, these were all the remaining members of the Cabal.

of the Triple Alliance being one of the main points of accusation against the ministers, Buckingham boldly averred, that "he had the honour to have as great a hand in it as any man;" and took credit for "pressing the ambassadors to sign before they had powers." Arlington, when heard, recriminated upon Buckingham; and averred that "the French treaty confirmed the Triple Alliance." To a specific question, "By whose advice and ministry the Triple League was made?" he answered, "It had been suggested by me: *Sir William Temple was the fortunate man that despatched it.* *

Temple himself believed it to have been in consequence of this mention of his name, that when the necessity of peace became apparent†, and the establishment of the Prince of Orange in his hereditary appointments, making it perhaps more acceptable to Charles, he was thought the fit man to go over to the Hague to negotiate it. Arlington,

* Parl. Hist. iv. 642. 656. Temple says, that Arlington's answer was, "The author of that alliance was Sir William Temple." If the Parliamentary History be correct, this is not quite ingenuous. II. 251.

† On the 24th of Jan. 1674, the King said to the Houses, "At the beginning of this session I told you, as I thought I had reason to do, that the States General had not yet made me any proposals which could be imagined with any intention to conclude, but only to amuse. To avoid this imputation, they have now sent me a letter by the Spanish ambassador, offering me some terms of peace upon conditions formally drawn up, and *in a more decent style than before.* It is upon this I desire your speedy advice." The papers being laid before them, both Houses addressed the King to proceed in a treaty upon this foundation. On Feb. 11. 1674, the peace was announced, in a speech in which the King styled it a peace "speedy, honourable, and (he hoped) lasting;" and on the 24th parliament was prorogued, and did not meet again till April, 1675. Parl. Hist. iv. 660. 665, 666. 672.

and his new colleague, Danby *, a more ancient friend of Temple, and now Lord Treasurer, vied in their eagerness to take part in this nomination, which had the unanimous approbation of the Foreign Committee †, as well as the King's. Temple, though "he feared he was grown a little rusty by lying still so long," soon consented, objecting only, for no very intelligible reason, to the style of ambassador.‡ While he was preparing to go to the Hague, as envoy and plenipotentiary, the Spanish ambassador, Marquis del Fresno, received full powers from the Dutch. The terms to be insisted upon were settled, and Temple conducted the negotiation with the Spaniard. In three days, he concluded the treaty of Westminster §, a covenant much more lasting than that which he had already survived.

With the exception of a pecuniary acknowledg-

* Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Duke of Leeds), a baronet of Yorkshire, and a staunch loyalist; a privy councillor in June, 1672, and Lord High Treasurer on Clifford's becoming disqualified by the Test Act, June 19, 1673. He was at that time Viscount Dumblaine in Scotland. Created Viscount Latimer in 1673; Earl of Danby in 1674. He was related to Lady Temple, perhaps as an Osborne, but more nearly through the Danvers, of which family her mother was. Collins, i. 353.

† Memoirs, ii. 334. The committee now consisted of Lord Chancellor Finch, Lord Treasurer Danby, Lord Arlington and Henry Coventry, Secretaries of State.

‡ To his father, IV. 13.

§ Feb. 19, 1674. Dumont, vii. part i. p. 253. Sir William Temple's concern in this transaction is only known from his own Memoirs. The full powers were given to the principal ministers, and they signed the treaty. Temple had only to arrange the details with Del Fresno, previously to a formal meeting. But it appears that the *flag* and the money payment were in the original offer through Spain. The new terms demanded were the Surinam and East India articles, and an agreement to abstain from *fishing*, which last was *not* obtained. Temple thus could have little to do. But see his letter to the Duke of Florence, iv. 9

ment for the right of fishing on her coasts, this treaty gave to England all that she had asked when she had France to back her; its unimportance sufficiently exposes the trifling causes of the war. The prerogative of the flag was secured; it was agreed that the British settlers in Surinam should be brought home; the East India questions were to be referred to commissioners, with an appeal, if necessary, to the arbitrage of the Queen of Spain. The Marine treaty of 1668 was renewed for a time, while that subject was referred to the same commissioners. And, finally, the States were to pay to England, for the honour of being deceived and bullied, 800,000 patacoons.*

Of these articles, one, than which nothing had given Temple "greater pleasure in the greatest public affairs he had run through," was the article of the flag,—"a point upon which he had found De Witt ever inflexible." †

Temple now had an offer, through Lord Arlington, of the embassy to Spain.

The offer was accompanied by an assurance that "the King took kindly of him both the readiness he had expressed to go over into Holland, and the easiness he showed upon the failing of that commission, as well as the pains and success in the treaty

* About 200,000*l.*, we believe.

† Mem. 254. This article continued in force until the peace of Amiens, in 1802, when, the treaty of 1674 not being renewed, the claim was tacitly dropped. It is easy to say that the rights and glories of England were then disregarded; but it would be difficult to justify, and perhaps not very easy to support, a war undertaken in vindication of this offensive right; and it certainly ought not to have been asserted, unless the nation was prepared to fight for it.

with the Spanish ambassador. Not knowing any thing better he had to give him, he was resolved to send an ambassador extraordinary into Spain *, and for that purpose to recall Sir William Godolphin, the ordinary ambassador there." Although this appointment had formerly been an object of Temple's ambition †, he now declined it, at the instance of his father, who was "violent" against his acceptance of it.

Sir John Temple's reasons are not stated: probably he considered a residence at Madrid too much of a banishment for a son to whom he was much attached. If his objection lay in the apprehension that banishment was intended by Charles and his minister, the offer which was made to Sir William, upon his refusal of this, would seem to prove that the apprehension was groundless. The inclination of the King to his faithful servant appears to have varied according to the fluctuations of his policy in respect to Holland and France. At this moment, it was at least his avowed policy to keep well with the Dutch, and now, instead of taking ill Temple's refusal of a lucrative appointment, Charles destined for him the office of secretary of state, not upon the vacancy immediately expected, on the appointment of Lord Arlington to be chamberlain, but upon the next which might occur. Arlington would not believe that Temple could have declined the embassy, unless he had been sure of obtaining the secretaryship, through

* II. 256., and IV. 16. † See p. 261.

his connection with the rising minister, Danby. Temple's wife was related to Danby; and they had been "young travellers and tennis-players together in France, but for near twenty years they had not fallen in each other's way." But Arlington felt much jealousy of Danby, in regard not only to his patronage of Temple, but to the increase of his influence at court: this indeed may be inferred from his disclaimer of this very feeling; "so far," he said, "from disliking my being well with the Lord Treasurer, how ill soever he was with him, that he advised me as a friend to be as well with him as I could." And he suggested that Temple might, through his new patron, accelerate Arlington's removal to the post of chamberlain *, and obtain for himself the immediate appointment, paying to him the 6000*l.* which he was otherwise to receive from Sir Joseph Williamson, his intended successor. But Temple persisted in his refusal, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friend Sidney†, and of Montagu ‡, who offered to lend him the required sum. Temple once more consulted his father; representing to him, not only his objection to the purchase, but his general distrust of the counsels in which he was called upon to share. "I have seen such changes at court, that I know

* He was to succeed the Viscount St. Albans. March 27. 1674, IV. 19.

† Henry Sidney, another son of the Earl of Leicester (p. 31.). He was created Viscount Sidney in 1689, and Earl of Romney in 1694. (Bankes, iii. 642.)

‡ Ralph, son and heir of Edward second Lord Montagu of Boughton. After the Revolution, he was created Earl of Montagu, and Duke in 1705. We shall see that his friendship for Temple was not lasting. See Bankes, iii. 532.

not what to make of this last, and still remember poor M. de Witt's words of *fluctuation perpétuelle dans les conseils d'Angleterre*, which of all things in the world I am not made for, and would rather break my head with going on, than be wrenching myself continually with sudden turns."* Sir John Temple was as much set against the proposed exaltation of his son in the King's councils, as against his mission in Spain; and agreed with him in preferring the embassy to Holland, "where he knew the scene so well." †

It is clear that this eminent diplomatist was not ambitious of employment in the administration at home. Nor was the mode by which the arrangement was to be effected quite acceptable to him, who "had ever detested the custom grown among them of selling places, and much more those of so much importance to the crown." He was unwilling, too, to supersede Williamson, to whom Arlington had pledged himself, though he thought it no great honour to be preferred to him.

In May, 1674, Temple was once more appointed English ambassador at the Hague. The King and his two rival ministers appear all to have concurred readily in this appropriate nomination.‡ He became ambassador extraordinary to the States, with emoluments made equal, after some discussion, to those of the other ambassadors of the crown. §

* IV. 22, 23. † 258., and IV. 6—24. ‡ II. 258. IV. 23.

§ Apparently, he was rather better treated by the treasury now, than on his former appointment. There are in the State Paper Office drafts of warrants, which seem to belong to his first embassy, on which he remarked, that there was left out in his case "a provision for certain days'

But what Temple had seen of the disposition of the King and his ministers made him desirous of ascertaining, previously to his departure, "the ground upon which he stood." *

With this view he sought an audience of the King, and spoke his mind very freely upon the "late counsels and the ministry of the late Cabal." He told Charles "how ill he had been advised to break measures and treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been served, and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out against such proceedings, and by the jealousies they had raised against the crown." The King answered, that he had been ill served, but rather justified what had passed. Hereupon Temple "went," as he expresses it, "to the bottom of the matter," charging the King in effect with his intention to introduce popery and arbitrary power; for this he really did, in "showing how difficult if not impossible it was to set up here the same religion and government that was in France." He assured him, that "even those who were indifferent to religion would not consent to have it changed by force of an army; that in France the King had only to manage the nobles and clergy, the peasants being as insignificant as the women and children were here; whereas in England the bulk of land

allowance previous to his departure, and also a provision for a three-monthly advance, so as to force him upon his own money, which was never used to any other minister." He also remarks upon a clause in the provision for his contingencies,—"but not for any postage of letters" "a clause," he says, "never before inserted." It may be supposed that on the present occasion these offensive retrenchments were taken off.

* II. 267

lay in the yeomanry or lower gentry, and their hearts are light by ease and plenty, as those of the French peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want." . . . "The King of England, moreover, was without the means which the French kings had of raising armies, otherwise than by supplies from his parliament, and that no army composed of Englishmen would serve ends that the people hated and feared." He represented the absurdity of attempting to govern the whole nation by the one hundredth part composed of Catholics. Foreign troops would only raise discontent, and not fewer than threescore thousand men would suffice to subdue the liberties and spirit of England: — he might have said that even that force would be insufficient; but his somewhat pedantic, and not very conclusive reasons for thus estimating the force were, that the Romans were compelled to keep twelve legions, the Normans to institute 62,000 knights' fees, and Cromwell left an army of nearly 80,000 men.

This remonstrance affords a striking illustration of the bold independence of Sir William Temple: Charles's reception of it is equally characteristic, of the easy indifference of his disposition, and of his cleverness as an actor. He was neither offended nor moved by the heinousness of the imputations. At first, only, he seemed a little impatient, probably because he did not like to be *bored*; and when Temple quoted the saying of Gourville, that a King of England, to be great, must be the man of his people, he laid his hand upon Temple's, and added, "*And I will be the man of my people.*"

With this hollow declaration, Temple was perforce contented: he quite failed in ascertaining, in this interview, the "ground upon which he stood;" nor did he in any degree "find out," as he had intended, "the King's true sentiments and dispositions as to the measures he had now taken." He went on his mission, under the necessity of "trusting to those of the King's ministers who had deceived either him or themselves." In this, and in other passages of his life, Sir William Temple evinced, if not a want of precision in his views, some lack of perseverance in his resolutions.

Of Temple's domestic concerns during his three years' retirement, little is known beyond our general acquaintance with his habits of gardening, and his building and improving at Sheen. Five months of 1673 he spent in Ireland, with his father, to whom he thus announced his arrangements on resuming his station at the Hague: — "I resolve to take my whole family over, but yet that my wife and son shall first make you a visit, since I see you will not think of coming over. It is their turn now, and my sister and son will go first into Holland, though we should both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my wife will not consent to my going without either her or my sister, and she has a great mind to carry over her son to you herself; after having been so long in France, and at an age when commonly the great changes are made, which you will judge of when you see him."*

* Sheen, May 16. 1674. iv. 24.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TEMPLE SECOND EMBASSY TO THE HAGUE. — INSTRUCTIONS. — CONFERENCES WITH THE STATES. — COLDNESS OF WILLIAM. — INTERVIEWS WITH PAGET AND THE PRINCE. — NEUTRAL TOWNS. — ALLIANCE BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE. — PROPOSED CONGRESS AT NIMEGUEN. — TEMPLE GAINS WILLIAM'S CONFIDENCE.

1674—1675.

TEMPLE went over to Holland in July, 1674. His instructions were, "in general, to assure the States of his Majesty's friendship, and his resolution to join his forces with them; then to offer his mediation in the present war, which both they and almost all Christendom were engaged in, and after their acceptance of it to endeavour it likewise with all their allies, and to that end to engage the offices and intervention of the States."* He was instructed to reconcile the Prince of Orange to peace, persuading him that he could not presume upon victory, if upon the Emperor, for obtaining the terms of the Pyrenees.

At the Hague, Temple was well received by M. Pagett,† who had succeeded John De Witt as Pen-

* Memoirs, i. 371. Appendix B.

† A family still of great consideration in Holland. Henry (now Baron) Paget was employed before the revolution of 1788. He resided for a long time in England, and was ambassador from the King of the Netherlands after the restoration of 1814. No foreigner was ever more loved or respected in England.

sionary of Holland. Fagel was "the great man in Holland, acting all under the Prince's influence, though not without some distaste among the richer sort of people of the towns," who were probably inclined to a more purely republican government: he had a strong feeling of religion, which inclined him to England rather than to France.

Temple offered the King's mediation; reminding Fagel that if Charles were likely to be partial, it would be on the side in which his nephew was concerned, and that he made this offer while the advantages of the war were with the French, because he knew his interests too well to be content that Flanders should be lost. He desired to put that country in a better state of defending itself, "by laying the Spanish territories together more in a round than the late peace left them." * Fagel first, and the States afterwards, expressed a readiness to accept the mediation. But they were now closely allied with the Emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg, and other princes of the empire, and with Spain: without their allies they could not act; and their treaty with Spain bound them to the terms of the Pyrenean treaty. Temple told them that their allies had put their delay in accepting the mediation upon *them;* and he adroitly made the president of the week, with whom he negotiated, confess that he would have been glad if France had refused the offer, and the allies had accepted it, whereas just the contrary had happened.†

* To Secretary Coventry, Hague, July 17. 1674. IV. 26. † Ib.

Having so far made his way good with the States, Temple proceeded to Brussels, with the view of seeing the Prince of Orange, who was with the army in Flanders. At the Spanish capital he experienced the ill effects of the conduct of his government since the Triple Alliance, in the coldness with which he was received at a place where he had formerly been esteemed, and in the evident unwillingness of the Spanish authorities to facilitate his meeting with the Prince.

Mr. Bulstrode, the envoy at Brussels, himself went to the Prince's camp near Louvain, with Temple's letter requesting an audience. The Prince made the uncertainty of his movements an excuse for appointing no time; "and I found by his discourse," says Bulstrode, "that he had no great mind to speak at this juncture of time with his Excellency; but perhaps it might create a jealousy in the Spaniards, who stick not to say that his Excellency's coming must needs be in order to proposals of peace, which they seem unwilling now to hearken to." *

This coldness on the part of William is the more remarkable, as Temple was not only on good terms with him during his former embassy, but had recently written to him in friendly and familiar terms. He had not only explained to him his concern in

* Brussels, July 24. 1674. In "Original Letters written to the Earl of Arlington by Sir Richard Bulstrode, 1712," p. 72. He was son of the author of some law reports; born in 1610. He left the law to serve under King Charles I., of whose army he was adjutant and quarter-master-general. He was a constant royalist. He was knighted in 1675.— Preface to his Letters.

the negotiation of the treaty *, and sent over the letters with which he had been charged, but he had touched upon a subject of greater interest and delicacy. "The Duke, at the end of a great deal spoken very kindly, bid me assure you that he looked upon your Highness's interests as the same with the King's and his own, and that *if there were any thing in which you might use his service, you might be sure of it.* I replied, '*Pray, Sir, remember there is nothing you except, and you do not know how far a young Prince's desire may go;* but I am resolved to tell him what you say, and if there be occasion, to be a witness of it.' The Duke smiled, '*Well, well, you may tell him what I bid you,*' upon which I said, 'At least I will tell the Prince that you smiled when I told you so, which I am sure is a great deal better than if you had frowned.'"

This was apparently the first hint of the union between William and Princess Mary. As William did not receive the suggestion kindly when it was soon afterwards made to him with more of form and authority, it is possible that an apprehension of an overture of this nature, contributed with William's justifiable discontent with the political conduct of his uncle †, to his unwillingness to receive an English agent. By the English government, however, the Prince's conduct was ascribed to an unwilling-

* Sheen, Feb. 1674. iv. 6.

† Among the "Original Letters from King William III., then Prince of Orange, London, 1704," is one of May 25. 1674, to King Charles, complaining of his unfriendly refusal of permission to levy troops in England; which permission, he says, was given to France. P. 17.

ness to make peace until he should have seen the result of the campaign. All were satisfied, that the reasons assigned were merely pretexts.* Much of the Prince's evasions were ascribed to Du Moulin, one of his secretaries, an inveterate enemy of England.

Whatever was the cause, Temple made the best of the Prince's excuses, and felt assured that all would be right when they met. William, as Temple was informed, had, in discoursing of his mission, and of English affairs, said, "*Qu'il avoit tel opinion de ma probité, qu'il croiroit tout ce que je lui dirois là-dessus.*" † And the ambassador was not deterred by William's apparent coldness from congratulating him upon the great but indecisive battle of Seneffe ‡, in terms which for "*a plain man, and one who had no vein of flattery about him,*" appear quite elevated enough, though they were probably deserved.§ "The greatest captain, and the boldest soldier ||," could hardly have been exceeded by a poet-laureate. Temple now returned to Antwerp, and embarked for Rotterdam. But while he lay on board the yacht, a storm arose, the most violent of which he had ever heard. News came from all parts of the damage done, which, though excessive, was in its nature such as is not unfrequently seen.

* Secretary Coventry, July 30. 1674. Longe Papers, iii.
† Sept. 4. 1764. IV. 30.
‡ The first battle of William, the last of Condé. II. 277.
§ His veteran antagonist said that he conducted himself like an experienced captain, and ventured his person like a young man.—Trevor, i. 86.
|| Hague, August 18., IV. 30.

" But all was silenced," as indeed it might well be, " by the accounts from Utrecht, where the great and ancient cathedral was torn in pieces by the violence of this storm, and *the vast pillars of stone that supported it were wreathed like a twisted club*, having been so strongly composed and cemented as rather to suffer such a change of figure, than break in pieces, as other parts of the fabric did." * However, this powerful storm did not turn the head of Temple, or prevent his reaching the Hague, where he resumed, without making much progress, his negotiations with the Dutch government.

Among the points of business which Temple had to discuss, was one of some interest to those who, in our time, have attended to the " Neutral questions." Under the commercial articles now in force between England and Holland, the rule, *Free ships, free goods* †, was established between the two States. At this time, the Dutch were belligerent, the English neutral; and the former contended that the rule adopted did not authorize neutrals to carry on trade between one enemy's port and another. So far as the meagre reports in our possession enable us to ascertain, this claim of exception was founded on a principle which Eng-

* Memoirs, ii. 273.

† See p. 193. *antè*. It is there stated that France and Spain had stipulated with the Dutch for this principle, that Cromwell did the same with the Dutch and Swedes. See Martens' Cours Diplomatique, iii. 72. for France, Treaty 1662; p. 186. for Spain, 1650. For Cromwell and Sweden, 1654, see Chalmers, i. 20. art. 11. and 12. Dumont, vi. part ii. p. 80. 412. and 520. It would rather appear that Cromwell did *not* make this stipulation with the Dutch. It was included in the Marine Treaty of Dec. 1. 1674, between Charles and the States General. Dumont, vii. part i. p. 282.

land has for many years asserted, namely, that a neutral is not at liberty, under the general law of nations, to carry on trade for a belligerent, during war, which she was not permitted by that belligerent to carry on in time of peace. But Temple contended, that the article of the treaty allowed no exception, and the treaty alone was now the rule. "The sense of authors writing upon general themes, and for their own credit, and that of their professions, I said they could not be permitted to interpret any particular treaties between Princes and States, who might make what agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what authors call *jus gentium*, or general reason; by which, I think, they generally mean their own. .... The advantage of the article was only cast on our side by the common revolutions of war and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, as they were in ours to-day; whereas, when the advantage was, by like accidents, cast on their side, as it had been with France and Spain, they had ever insisted on the very same point that we do now." * These sound arguments had their effect upon the Pensionary: so far as we know, England's claim of the full benefit of the treaty was finally sustained. In later times, the Dutch have themselves contended for the unrestricted liberty of neutral trade, under a pretended law of nations. England has never (except as she might be warranted by treaty) either permitted or claimed this freedom, to the extent of permitting the neutral to pro-

* To Sir Joseph Williamson, Nov. 6. 1674. iv. 52.

tect by his flag the property of a belligerent, or to carry on, for a belligerent, a trade which the state of the war prevented him from carrying on for himself.

If England has the good sense to keep out of the wars, which a disputed succession, and the spirit of aggrandisement, are likely to occasion in Europe, England will have an opportunity of realizing Temple's argument of 1674, in claiming no right for herself which she refuses to others.

After a campaign, which had no decisive result, William also returned to the Hague, where Temple frequently saw him.

But he had a preliminary discussion with "old Prince Maurice of Nassau." The subject was a wonderful parrot, which he had in Brazil, which answered all manner of questions in good Brazilian, distinguished white men from black, and recognised the Prince for a great man. "I leave it," says Temple, "to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe as they please, upon it; however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy scene sometimes with such digressions, whether to the purpose or not." * On this ground we, too, would record the story, but that we hope the twisted pillars of Utrecht may answer the same purpose.

The Prince and Temple soon came to a good understanding. "William, who was fond of speaking English, and of their plain manner of eating,

* II. 284.

which Temple always continued abroad as well as at home, grew into so easy and familiar conversation in his family, that he constantly dined there, and commonly supped twice a week in his house, while he remained at the Hague. The company was always chosen of those who were most agreeable to the Prince; and with this conversation, and so much besides as passed in business and ceremony, Sir William grew very much into the Prince's esteem and confidence." *

Of his interest with the Prince, Temple once availed himself to save the lives of five of his countrymen. These unhappy men, it would appear, with that disregard of the righteous principles of war which was common in the middle ages, and has recently misled too many Englishmen of this day, had entered into the Dutch army; but, probably growing tired of a service in which they had no native interest, deserted their colours. In William's absence, they were condemned to be shot. Their graves were already dug, and they had but one day to live, when some of Temple's servants, who had visited them as countrymen, brought to him a melancholy story, that there was a mistake in the affair, and they were likely to die innocent men. The ambassador, with great difficulty, obtained for them a reprieve of one day, in which he obtained an order from the Prince for releasing them. The first use these poor men made of their liberty, was to go

* Lady Giffard. — As to the Prince's former coldness, see Sel. Let. pp. 117—132.

and see the graves from which they had so narrowly escaped, and then to thank, upon their knees, him to whom they owed their safety. "It was a very moving sight, and very surprising a great while after, when the occasion was less, to see them on a sudden fall down on their knees whenever they met the ambassador's coach, or any of his family."

Temple's attention to the interests of his countrymen was remarkable, not only in a case of *eclât* like this of the five deserters, but in the less romantic concerns of the merchants, "who were loud in his praise, for the warm protection which he gave to his Majesty's subjects." *

As well after the Prince's arrival, as while Temple had only the Pensioner to deal with, the negotiation proceeded languidly. All parties accepted, or professed a readiness to accept, the King's offer of mediation; but Temple was not authorised to specify terms, and no one of the allies proposed any. The Dutch would have had no difficulty in obtaining a separate peace, but they would not desert their allies. † France had tempted them privately, through D'Estrades, who was now Governor of Maestricht; but his advances were coldly received. Spain, from her weakness and

* So says Sir Robert Southwell, who passed through Bristol in Sept. 1674. Longe Papers, iii. See also Temple's letter to the Merchant Adventurers, iv. 86.

† The Spaniards and Dutch had overcome the disagreeable feelings which gave Temple so much trouble after the Triple Alliance, and had, on Dec. 17. 1671, and Feb. 22. 1672, made treaties of close alliance, into which the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine entered on July 1. 1673. Dumont, vi. part i. p. 155. 162. 235.

internal divisions, was desirous of peace; but, without insisting upon the terms of the Pyrenees, she desired better terms than those of Aix-la-Chapelle, which would not secure her possessions against an invasion from France: "they left Flanders neither of a size to keep great armies, nor of a figure to be defended by small." *

The Emperor had no great anxiety for peace. "Finding himself powerfully armed, and at others' cost, and thereby his consideration growing greater every day in the empire, whatever it does abroad, whatever battles might cost, the resources of men were so great in Germany, that they could never fail whilst Spain and Holland could furnish the money, or the several circles of the empire continue animated in the quarrel." † The Emperor, too, whose eventual treaty with Louis ‡ had become obsolete, foresaw that he should have to fight with France for the succession of Flanders, and thought it as well to settle the matter now.

The Princes of the Empire, Temple thought, were more tired of the war, and would be inclined to go back to the peace of Munster.

Sweden had engaged herself deeply with France §, but wished, nevertheless, to avoid the

* IV. 49.

† To the Lord Treasurer Danby, Oct. 26., iv. 47.

‡ See p. 126., *ante*. Temple knew nothing of this bargain.

§ By a treaty made at Stockholm on 14th April, 1672, Louis XIV. and Charles XI. of Sweden concluded, under the appearance of a guaranty of former treaties and of the peace of the empire, something very like an offensive alliance, including an annual subsidy to Sweden. Dumont, vii. part i. p. 166. This Charles was born in 1645, and had consequently been a minor at the time of the Triple Alliance. Les Dates, viii. 235.

war, in which Denmark * would probably join with Brandenburgh † and Lunenburgh against her, and were therefore earnest to take part in a mediation.

Under such circumstances, it was not easy for the English Minister, without more precise instructions, to bring his discussions to any point. But there was another difficulty: Temple believed that, if all parties had been satisfied of the *impartiality* of the King of England, they would "not only have accepted his mediation, but would have wholly remitted their differences to his arbitrage;" but there was, at least, in the Dutch government, whose ambassadors in England had long infused it into them, *an opinion of the new intelligence of the English government with France, even in all their offers of mediating a peace.*" ‡

This opinion was not unfounded. Louis had just made another private bargain with the King of England, which bound him to prorogue his parliament until April, 1675, *in consideration of a payment of* 500,000 crowns. § It is not probable that Charles, thus shackled, would take his measures otherwise than in concert with France.

* Christiern V. had succeeded, in 1670, his father Frederic III., who had been allied with France. Sweden and Denmark were seldom on the same side. Les Dates, viii. 202.

† Frederic William I., the Grand Elector, born in 1620, had succeeded his father in 1640. In 1656 he had acquired the independent sovereignty of Prussia; he had allied himself with the States and the Emperor against France. Dumont, vii. part i. p. 194.

‡ Oct. 26. p. 51.

§ The Dover bargain (see p. 338. antè) fell with the war; the secret discussions were renewed between Charles and Ruvigni in Sept. 1674. Dalrymple, i. 139, 140.

With William himself, Temple made little progress towards a peace. The Prince, in truth, liked the occupation of war, and had no personal object in bringing it to an end: and he was positively set against a separate peace, and against any that should not leave Flanders defensible, by which he intended nearly the terms of the Pyrenees. When Temple suggested as a reason for not requiring higher terms, that the King of England was guarantee of the peace of Aix, and that the French had not been beaten out of any of the towns assigned to them by that treaty, William said at once, that it was better to go on with the war.* Temple thought it best to humour the Prince in this, by throwing out that it might perhaps be just as well for England to grow rich by trade, (his favourite scheme,) while her neighbours were knocking their heads together. The Prince however thought, that England might bring France into such terms as she might choose.

Upon this matter, though it came to no conclusion, William was perfectly frank; on another on which Temple pressed him, he was properly reserved.

Certain Englishmen, with Lord Shaftesbury at their head, "were suspected to have truckled, at least with Holland, about raising seditions and perhaps insurrections in England, if the war continued, and the Dutch fleet should appear on our coasts, which were like to be unguarded the next summer by the straight his Majesty was in for money to set out a fleet." Temple asked, by his

* To the King, Nov. 30. 1674, iv. 56.

master's special orders, for the names of these persons; but "the Prince was staunch, and said he was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all honour as to betray men that professed to be his friends." *

Thus unpromising were the prospects of Temple's embassy, when Lord Arlington himself came over to the Hague, in no public character, but with authority and instructions from the King of England. This private mission puzzled the ambassador, and gave him some uneasiness. According to Temple's own notion, Arlington had infused into the King's mind a belief that his representative at the Hague was a bad negotiator with the Prince of Orange, by reason of the prejudice entertained against him, as the former friend of De Witt, the head of the faction opposed to the Prince's interests. If any such prejudice existed, it had apparently been removed by Temple's open and judicious management; but the insinuation suited the purposes of Lord Arlington, whose friendship with Temple had been destroyed, by their difference upon foreign politics, and by the growing jealousy between Arlington and Danby, whose acquisition of the Treasurer's staff, being the object of his ambition, had greatly discontented him. Lord Danby himself knew little of the object of Arlington's journey; and he, as well as the Prince of Orange, suspected that M. de Ruvigni, the intriguing French Minister in London, had some part in the affair.

* II. 293.

Danby had been told, that the Prince himself had desired that a person in the King's confidence might be sent to him, but this Temple reasonably doubted.*

Lord Arlington was accompanied by his wife, and her sister Madame Beverwaert "who had something in her humour and conversation very agreeable to the Prince;" by Sir Gabriel Silvius, who was intimate in William's Court; and a Dr. Durel, "as a man fit to practise M. Marast, a French ecclesiastic who was thought to have credit with the Prince." Lord Ossory† was also of the party, who had married another of Lady Arlington's sisters. All this looked as if some considerable point was to be carried with the Prince of Orange.‡ And the avowed object was, according to the King's letter to Temple, "to set right some important points between his Majesty and the Prince."§ An official letter from Williamson also referred to "the particular and domestic concerns of the Prince, with which those of the King were nearly united."‖

Temple answered the King's letter with courtly

* In his memoirs, he says distinctly that the Prince assured him there was no such thing (ii. 296.); but in his letter to Danby (Dec. 4., iv. 60.), he says nothing of this denial. The letters are assuredly the more worthy of credit.

† Thomas Butler, eldest son of the Duke of Ormond (see p. 28.), born in 1634, a very distinguished person by land and sea. He died in 1680, in his father's lifetime. The Beverwaerts were the daughters of a natural son of Maurice Prince of Orange. Collins, ix. 128. M. Odyck was their brother.

‡ Lord Latimer, Danby's son, was also with the two Lords, apparently in a private capacity; but he took over complimentary letters from his father. iv. 47. Ralph, i. 266.

§ December 1674, ii. 293., iv. 60.

‖ Nov. 10. Longe Papers, iii.

complaisance, though he had at least as much reason to complain, as he had formerly of the employment of Lord Carlingford. "I hope your Majesty believes your commands are so sacred to me as to need no help from my inclinations to make them obeyed. . . . . I esteem this journey of so great persons, and so much my friends, the best fortune, and most honour, that could have befallen one in this place; and hope the success of it may be whatever your Majesty proposed to yourself by it." *

Arlington communicated, or professed to communicate, frankly to Temple the object of the mission; "it was necessary," he said, "to rake into things past, which was an unpleasant work, and which Temple could not do, as having no part in the King's business during that time wherein the Prince took his offence at our counsels." Of the peace, he said, he should say nothing unless the Prince made advances.

Temple could make no objection to the mission, but gave Arlington some good hints upon "the way he mentioned of raking into the sore, and fighting battles in defence or justification of what was past. . . . . From what I knew in particular, of the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, I believed, should be very gentle, and not go too deep; . . . . expostulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends." †

* Dec. 4. 1674. iv. 63. He wrote in the same strain to Arlington himself, Nov. 20. Sel. Let. p. 135.

† II. 296.

Notwithstanding this good advice, Arlington failed in conciliating the Prince. He found him dry and sullen, or at least uneasy, and desirous of putting an end to the discussion.

Although Temple, probably, did not receive from either of the parties an exact account of what passed between them *, he kept well with both; openly, at least, with Arlington, and substantially with the Prince, who spoke to him unreservedly of "the arrogance and insolence," with which Arlington had behaved; and that there was a quarrel between them appears distinctly from William's letters.†

Temple thought, from the beginning, that the mission would have no important result. "I am of opinion," he told Lord Danby, "that this business will produce no effect at all, proportioned to the noise it has made both in England and here, and perhaps that it may not go much further than expostulations and compliments on both sides." And he justly reckoned upon the firmness of the Prince. "I take him to be an un-

* In his memoirs, he says, "the Prince told me, not only the thing, but the manner of it;" but the account which he proceeds to give is only conjectural, or derived from the Pensionary and others. *They thought* that the bent of my Lord Arlington was, to draw the Prince into such measures of a peace, *as France then so much desired.* Secondly, to discover the persons who, during the late war, had made advances to the Dutch as to raising commotions in England. Thirdly, to draw the Prince into secret measures with the King for assisting him against any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad: and lastly, into the hopes or designs of a match with the Duke's eldest daughter; though, *they said,* he found the Prince could not enter at all into the first, was obstinate against the second, treated the third as a disrespect to the King to think he could be so ill-beloved or so imprudent as to need it; and *upon mention made of the last by my Lord Ossory, he took no further hold of it than saying, his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife.* ii. 300.

† June, 1675. Orig. Let. p. 40.

moveable person, in all points of what he esteems his honour and interest, and not to be talked into, or out of, any points where he esteems either of them much concerned." *

After lingering six weeks at the Hague, dining out, and "affecting the figure of one that had no business in his head," Lord Arlington departed; and "thus ended," says Temple, "this mystical journey."†

* Dec. 4. 1674, iv. 62.

† Memoirs, ii. 301. Two letters, in Carte's Ormond, from Lord Ossory to the Duke of Ormond, and from the Prince to Arlington (of which letters no historian except Ralph appears to have made use), with the Memoirs of James II., give a more authentic explanation of this journey than Temple could give. It was truly intended to adjust differences which had occurred between Charles and his nephew. The King complained that the Prince had encouraged English malcontents; William, that Charles had too much of favour for France. He was not satisfied with the explanations given to him by Lord Arlington. The match was mentioned by Ossory, who did not understand the Prince's answer to be "a civil denial," though it was so taken by the Duke, who had unwillingly consented that the offer should be made. From Ossory's letter it would almost appear, that the first mention of the match came from the Prince. William, in his letter to the King, takes no notice of that offer, but assures him that he knows of no intrigues against him. He expresses much dissatisfaction at Charles's political coldness towards his interests and those of his country. It is clear that nothing was concluded as to the terms of peace. James mentions *that* as one of the original matters of discussion, and his own saying that Temple was the properer channel: he speaks of *Ruvigni's approbation of the mission*, which shows that the terms proposed (of which more presently) were not to be very favourable to the Dutch or their allies. As to the *mysteriousness* (which Ralph denies), there is a letter from a Mr. Cooke, from Whitehall, Nov. 24., which speaks of the journey as "a riddle unresolved;" surely that is justly styled a mystery, of which the principal minister (Danby, who had much reason to complain) was kept in ignorance. And that the mission failed (which Ralph also denies), Ossory's letter, and the notorious want of a result, sufficiently prove. Temple has, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated his own knowledge; but his statement is not otherwise liable to the criticisms of Ralph, whose character as a searching historian (on which we agree with Mr. Fox), and his rather severe remarks upon Temple, have induced us to this note. See Carte's Ormond, ii. 448.; Ralph, i. 264.; Coleman's Letters in Parl. Hist. iv. p. lxxxv.; James's Life, i. 500.

It is probable that Charles, as well as Louis, was desirous of drawing the States into a *separate* treaty. Louis now made circuitous overtures to the Prince of Orange; but William, who appears to great advantage in Temple's memoirs, "was unmoveable on the point of not leaving his allies." *

A scheme was now set on foot, which Temple, who was fond of a project, zealously espoused, for marrying Mademoiselle D'Orleans, niece of Charles as well as of Louis, to the young King of Spain, with the late French conquests in Flanders for her dower. He proposed, also, that Charles himself should have 200,000*l.* for his good offices.

"In my weak opinion, this were an adventure worthy of your Majesty's achievement, by which alone, in all present appearance, the peace of Christendom may be restored; by which France may come out of the war with honour, and Spain with safety; by which your Majesty leaves a niece with one of the greatest crowns of Christendom upon her head; by which you may draw a mighty treasure into your purse; and by which, after the applause of all abroad, and all your subjects at home, upon a peace whereby Flanders is secured, your Majesty will have glory and ease attend all the rest of your life."† "If you should effect it, and after a general peace fall into *those close measures with the Prince and this State which my Lord Chamberlain so much discoursed of here*, I should not despair of seeing them brought to give your Majesty, upon a de-

* P. 302. † To the King, Jan. 22. 1675, iv. 67. 144.

fensive league, a clause of guaranty upon all quarrels you might have upon your right to the flag: which would be certainly to give your Majesty an undisputed possession of what has been hitherto a disputed claim, and thereby leave to your Majesty's crown and reign the greatest glory that hath arrived to any of your ancestors."* The Prince was favourable to the scheme; but Charles, if he noticed it at all, rejected it altogether.

Temple now set about the formal proposition of the King's mediation. We have not the memorial which he prepared; but he appears, by his own account, to have laid rather more stress than the principles of negotiation allow, upon a point wherein he knew he was weak: "One of the circumstances, and most be to considered, I take to be that of persuading the confederates that *his Majesty is as impartial as a mediator ought to be.*"†

With this view, he was anxious that the plan of a joint mediation with Sweden should be abandoned‡; that power, having deserted the Triple Alliance and taken French money, was a bad associate for a mediator who *professed* impartiality; although, in truth, Charles II. was quite as objectionable on that score as Charles XI.

Nimeguen was proposed as the place of congress; but before any progress was made, Charles's jealousy of his nephew was excited by a rumour of his intention to come over to England. Being now well aware that he could employ no better agent

* Jan. 29., iv. 69. † Feb. 22. 1675, iv. 71. ‡ Ib.

with the Prince than Temple, he wrote, with his own hand, enjoining him to prevent the journey. "I should be extremely ashamed," answered Temple, "to be ignorant here of a matter of such consequence that was known so far off. I have very little belief of infallibility, and less of no man's than my own; but I am as confident as I can be of having any of my five senses about me, that the Prince has never had yet a thought of such a journey this season.*

The Prince at once disclaimed the intention, and ascribed the rumour to some persons about the King, "who endeavoured to make things ill between them.... They may say, if they would, that a cow could catch a hare, but he did not know why any body should believe it." The Prince was afterwards still more excited, when he received from Arlington himself a letter, which he immediately brought to Temple, "as the most impertinent that ever was:" and certainly, if correctly represented, it was extremely disrespectful as well as injudicious; treating the journey as "intended for raising heats in the parliament, and commotions in the kingdom." †

The ambassador's report ‡ of these occurrences is an instance of the freedom of his communications with the King. He repeated to the King the observations of the Prince himself, who, solemnly denying the intention of intriguing in England,

* To the King, March 22., iv. 80.
† II. 307.
‡ March 25. 1675, iv. 82. 84.

declared that Arlington himself had first suggested the journey; he commented very severely upon the conduct and language of that minister, and "swore in a rage that he could not bear this language from Lord Arlington, or live any longer with him as he had done; under profession of friendship and of dealing plainly with him, he saw very well that he did him all the mischief he could; and that he could bear it no longer."

Temple made what excuses he could for his friend. The offensive letter was in cipher, and in French; the Prince boggled at the cipher, and exaggerated the sense in his imperfect explanation; and Temple thought, we know not why, that "the same conception would not have run so hard in Arlington's English as the Prince took it in the French." An incipient illness at the same time soured William's temper, so that altogether his excitement was extreme. Temple reported to the minister the Prince's severe expressions, omitting, however, the allegation that Arlington had himself suggested the journey. So far as we can judge from Temple's replies, Arlington was satisfied with his friend's endeavours to mitigate the Prince's wrath.*

The threatened illness soon broke out, and proved to be the small-pox, during which the Prince "had

* March 29., April 23., May 7. and 14., 167. 170. Sel. Let. 158. 165. 168. It is curious that both in this unfortunate letter from Lord Arlington, and in one from the Prince, concerning his proposed match, a misunderstanding appears to have arisen from a doubtful punctuation. We have not enough of either letter for a particular explanation. The apprehension of William's coming over appears to have continued some time longer, as there is at Coddenham a letter from Charles, dated Oct. 29. 1675, enjoining Temple to hinder the Prince from any such thoughts, until the peace, or he had permission under the King's hand.

a fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from the Ambassador's house." *

It was about the same time that the sovereignty of Guelderland † was offered to William, who declined it, and afterwards disowned having ever had any thought of accepting it." ‡ The offer had nearly cost William his popularity in Holland, Zealand, and other provinces, where it was suspected that Charles had a hand in the project.§ Temple strongly deprecated the Prince's acceptance of the proffered dukedom; he had formed an opinion, "that a sovereign prince in Holland would certainly and soon ruin the trade, and consequently the riches and greatness of that state." ‖ He had already given this opinion in print; his vanity as an author as well as statesman was flattered, and he took the opportunity of puffing his book. "I could wish upon this occasion his Majesty were at leisure to read these two short chapters of religion and trade in the book I gave you, and in the last of which, one period just upon the subject of the Prince's being sovereign serves, as they tell me now, for a prophecy, about Amsterdam." ¶

* II. 309. † See Trevor, i. 102. ‡ Sel. Let. 153.
§ Sel. Let. 142. ‖ II. 305.

¶ Feb. 22. Sel. Let. 147. He had given an opinion that if the republic could not retain its independence, but get itself to be admitted as a circle of the Empire, retaining their liberties, the trade would be rather increased; but he controverts an opinion that "if the Prince of Orange were made sovereign of the country, though by foreign arms, he would be a great prince, because this is now so great a state: whereas, on the contrary, these provinces would soon become a very mean country; for such a power must be maintained by force, *as it would be acquired;* and, indeed, all absolute dominion must be in these provinces. This would raise general discontents," which would endanger property and shake credit. (ii. 175.) The case is not exactly in point: there is a wide difference between a sovereignty obtained *by force* and *by foreign arms*, and one resulting from a free offer by the people.

CHAPTER XIX.

TEMPLE NOMINATED TO THE CONGRESS AT NIMEGUEN. — SENT FOR TO ENGLAND. — CANNOT RECONCILE ARLINGTON AND DANBY. — FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING PEACE. — MISSION OF SIR GABRIEL SILVIUS. — THE PRINCE CONSULTS TEMPLE ABOUT THE PRINCESS MARY. — SEPARATION OF ARLINGTON AND TEMPLE.

1675—1676.

In March 1675, Temple was nominated ambassador to the Congress at Nimeguen.* Happening soon afterwards to be at Amsterdam, he was surprised by the receipt of a warrant, under the King's sign manual, reciting, "that an humble suit had been made to his Majesty in his favour, that he would grant him leave to make a tour into England for some very short time; upon certain his private occasions, which necessarily required his presence there. And though we cannot," the King proceeded in this most gracious instrument, "but wish you constant in your attendance there to lay hold upon all occasions that may offer .... yet in compliance with the necessity of your domestic affairs, which are said to require it, we are graciously pleased, and accordingly do grant and allow that you repair hither for some very short time." †

* Sel. Let. 162.

† May 28. 1675. State Paper Office.

As Temple had not asked for leave of absence, and had no wish to quit the Hague, this curious document was a mystery to him. An accompanying letter from Secretary Williamson contained, as he had no doubt, the explanation; but this letter was in cipher, with the exception of a postscript, referring to a letter which the King had *not* sent to him. It was, however, clear enough that Temple was wanted in England; and he sailed so soon as the wind permitted, having meanwhile thus deciphered the explanatory despatch: — "*His Majesty has something to say to you relating to the negotiation of the peace, which he is pleased to say he thinks very material at this time, and yet is such as cannot well be written to you.*" *

Upon his arrival in England, he found that the King was frightened into an earnest desire of peace, by "the heats that of late appeared in his parliament. The leaders of opposition had a mind to engage him in a war with France, which "he was determined they should not do for many reasons, and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his ministers, and make him depend upon them (the parliament) more than he intended or than any king would desire."† The dislike of

* May 28. 1675.

† Memoirs, ii. 317. Hume, viii. 11. Lingard, xii. 311. After a recess of fourteen months (see p. 419.), parliament met again on April 13. 1675. The speeches of the King and Keeper Finch turned chiefly upon religion and the necessity of a supply for maintaining the fleet; nothing of foreign affairs, but the following, in Finch's speech: — "If we look upon the state of things abroad, we shall find ourselves in such circumstances that it were great impiety not to acknowledge those

Charles's foreign policy, as too favourable to France, was asuredly very strong in parliament. The King's object in seeing Temple probably was, to ascertain how little of concession to popular feeling would preserve a peace and satisfy the States. But Temple has not told us what passed in the King's closet in reference to the terms of peace. Charles conceived that the weakness of the government in parliament was much augmented by the "impertinent quarrel" between Danby and Arlington; having now adopted the Treasurer as his favourite minister, he suspected the Chamberlain of a treacherous attempt to destroy him, by persuading the Commons to give no supplies during his administration. Temple vainly employed himself, by the King's command, in endeavouring to reconcile his two friends.

Danby, "who was so posted as to desire only to

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mercies which, by a rare felicity, have distinguished us from our now miserable neighbours. Wars and confusions cover the face of the rest of the Christian world, while we have no other part in all these afflictions, but that of a Christian compassion. We are newly gotten out of an expensive war, and are gotten out of it upon terms more honourable than ever. The whole world is now in peace with us; all ports are open to us; and we exercise a free and uninterrupted traffic through the ocean; and we are reaping the fruits of this peace by a daily improvement of our trade, and in the increase of our shipping and navigation." The Commons' first resolution, after one merely complimentary, was, "Than an humble address be presented to his Majesty, for the speedy recalling of all his subjects home out of the French king's service, and for hindering any more from going into that service in future." The King would not recall the men already in France, but forbade any more to go. But the Commons addressed him again, in spite of the efforts of Coventry and Williamson, who argued that the recall was an unfriendly act towards France, which would injuriously affect the King's mediation. An address was also voted against Lauderdale, and articles exhibited against Danby, and dropped; neither of these affected matters in which Temple was concerned. The session was terminated on June 9. 1675, in consequence of a dispute between the two houses. Parl. Hist. iv. 676—740.

continue where he was," was inclinable to a reconciliation; but Arlington, restless and discontented, could not be brought to it. Nor did he meet the advances of the mediator, who desired to retain the friendship of both, but from this time, not unnaturally, became "dry and stiff" with Temple, "still mingling little reproaches of his greatness with Danby." *

After a stay of six weeks in England, Temple returned to the Hague, whence he acknowledged, in his usual courtly language, "that particular confidence wherewith his Majesty had been pleased to honour him in his late attendances upon his Majesty in England; and which, he says, and he may be fully believed, "I am much prouder of than I could be of any titles or advantages that are the common objects of other men's pursuits and ambition." †

He brought with him fresh suggestions from Charles for a peace, or rather a repetition of the terms proposed by Lord Arlington when in Holland. These were, the terms of Aix-la-Chapelle‡, with an equivalent for Franche Compté, if that country should be restored to Spain. Temple was now instructed§, to assure the prince that if peace could be made with France, Charles would guarantee it; and would, moreover, renew the defensive alliance with the States.

* II. 318. † Aug. 13., iv. 97.

‡ Slightly modified: France was to give up Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, for Aire and St. Omer.—p. 327.

§ Instructions, June 25. 1675. Appendix B. They do not notice

The Prince of Orange did not make much objection on the part of the States to these terms*, but, according to his unvaried practice, referred to his allies, to whom he did not believe that they would be acceptable. Temple, as Charles had suggested, put William in mind of the apprehensions which he might have of the greatness of the House of Austria, if Spain and the Emperor continued to be successful: he answered that there was no fear, until they got beyond the terms of the Pyrenean Treaty; in that case, said M. Fagel, imitating the language of his great predecessor, De Witt, "he should be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard, but not before." Charles, if he was sincere at the moment, was not very earnest in his desire to see peace made on these terms; for after Temple had

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the *terms* of peace. In addition to this official document, Temple had two short letters from the King: —

"Sir Wm. Temple,—When you see my nephew, the Prince of Orange, I would have you not only assure him of my kindness, but withal that I am resolved to live with him in the nearest confidence and communion of interests during both our lives. Whitehall, June 25. 1675. Charles R."

"Sir William Temple,—In case my nephew should happen to die, I would have you to assure the States, from me, that if they will invest the same authority in another single person which was in him, I will not only protect them, but continue the same measures with them as are now or shall be between us at any time during my nephew's life. Whitehall, June 25. 1675. Charles R. — Coddenham."

* It was William's opinion that the Spaniards might be persuaded to a peace upon the terms of Aix, with the addition of Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, in order to form some kind of frontier; but that they would not part with Aire and St. Omer without an equivalent. Neither Spain nor the Emperor would consent to the cession of Franche Compté, though he would himself have no objection to it, if Spain might have Tournay, Courtray, Lisle, and Douay; because these towns on one side, with Aeth and Charleroy on the other, would make a reasonable frontier; and the security of Flanders was the chief interest of the States.

reported William's answer, all thought of a previous understanding with the Dutch was dropped.*

During the remainder of the year 1675, there were repeated but desultory conversations between Temple and the Prince and M. Fagel; and a voluminous correspondence between the Ambassador and the King and his Ministers. But all the attempts of France and England, whether acting separately or jointly, failed to arrange beforehand, with the Prince and States, the terms which should be offered to the other allies; and thus, as Temple told his father †, "his Majesty's offer of mediation continued a year and a half without any effect farther than being at length accepted by all the parties. "The ill success," he added, "of the French arms in the invaluable loss of M. Turenne ‡, the defeat of M. Crequi, the taking of Treves, and the ill condition of Swedish affairs; but most of all, the staunch resolution of the confederates to avoid all separate

* II. 329. † Hague, Dec. 12. 1675.; ii. 115.

‡ This celebrated commander was killed on the 27th of July, while reconnoitering the army of Montecuculli on the Rhine. Mémoires de Turenne, iii. 441. Crequi was defeated in an attempt to relieve Treves. Charles himself admitted, in answering (Sept. 3. O. S.) Temple's letter of Sept. 6. (iv. 99.), that "matters had changed in favour of the confederates since Temple's departure; so that his thoughts on the project of peace were quite out of doors;" and that they ought to see the effect of another campaign. In the same letter (which is at Coddenham), the King says, "In my letters from Madrid, I find they are there very jealous of the Prince of Orange, that his doing nothing all this summer is by concert with me; and let my nephew think what he will, Spain will never forget what his predecessors did to them; and methinks he should begin to fear the greatness of the House of Austria; the current running very fast that way which I am sure may be of ill consequence to him many ways; and if you opened M. Fagel's eyes in this matter, it would make my nephew look a little about him, and think more of peace than I fear he does now; till which time it will be impossible for us to enter into that alliance and strict confidence that can please either him or me."

treaties, have, I suppose, inclined France to set on foot the general one, by the offer they made of sending their ambassadors to any town in four of the provinces belonging to the States." This complaisance gave rise to a suspicion that the suggestion was "a piece of compliment and cajolery," to flatter the Dutch into a peace, and to obtain an opportunity of intriguing among the people. But the Prince and States dared not refuse the offer.

"You will have known from England," continued Temple, "that I am designed by the King for one of his ambassadors in this mediation; and I begin accordingly to turn my thoughts and affairs towards that remove, which as to the air, being much drier than this, I do not dislike. As to the business, I expect an increase of trouble and expense as well as honour. I remove my whole family: put off my house here, and have fixed already upon one at Nimeguen, for which, with stables and outhouses necessary to it, I am like to pay 1000*l.* a year, which is but a part of those exactions like to be practised there upon this occasion, and which cannot be remedied by this State, where the magistrates of each town have a jurisdiction uncontrollable by the States themselves either general or provincial, and are like themselves to give us no remedy in this affair which they are all concerned in.

"What prospect there is of a peace likely to result from this congress, upon what terms, or what time, it is difficult to tell you; the delays of it must be

such as the parties please, it being in the power of either to raise them upon the formal or substantial parts of the negotiation. The conditions to be first proposed will be distant enough, because they are like to come from all the several parties, though some of them would be glad his Majesty, as mediator, would draw the first scheme according to what he shall esteem most just and agreeable to the common interests of Christendom; and they doubt not that whatever peace his Majesty should propose, he may do it in such a manner as to make it easily accepted by all parties, and take upon him to be an arbitator as well as a mediator in this great affair. But, for aught I see, our councils are fixed to take no such part; so as the mediation will not at all lead, but follow, the disposition of the parties, as these, I suppose, will do the events of the war, since no suspension of arms is like to be agreed during the treaty."

Certainly, in this situation of the parties, a mediator had little to do. If he were not, as arbiter, to propose terms for all the parties, and no one of the parties would propose terms for himself, there was no room for mediation; there were no two objects between which a third power could suggest an intermediate point by way of compromise. The history of this famous congress, accordingly, affords little of interest to our memoirs; nor are copious extracts required from the voluminous correspondence, in which Temple related what passed under his observation, more than any doings of his own. But the summary given confidentially to his

father may serve to explain the state of interests in Europe.

"France will pretend to all their conquests, both in the last war and in this; but would at present be content, I believe, to part with a town or two in Flanders, so as they may keep Burgundy, and will make no difficulty to make the Empire and this State as they were (after all this expense of blood and treasure). Spain, seeing so many confederates united in their quarrel, and engaged to make no peace without their consent, reckons upon no less than the Pyrenean Treaty, and would keep off this till some successes of the confederates' arms may make way for such conditions. The Emperor finding this war has almost united the empire in the interests of the House of Austria, and drawing money from these States, as well as from Spain, is very unwilling to lose the conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the war go on; and so will not only insist upon the restoration of Lorraine and Philipsburg, but reparation of damages to the Princes of the Rhine. These States ask nothing for themselves but the restitution of Maestricht, and commerce as it was before the war; but think it necessary for their own safety that a good portion be left the Spainards in Flanders; and so will endeavour to have five or six good towns restored there, in exchange for Burgundy, which they are less concerned in. But all the allies agree in repossessing the Duke of Lorraine, which is a matter that France is most reserved in, as having no pretence either of right or conquest there, and yet justly esteeming

it a matter of more importance to them than all the rest, considering not only all the force and riches of that province, but the situation of it, and the absolute engagement of the present Duke to the interests and person of the Emperor. If these points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new quarrels in the North would, I believe, hinder the peace; but upon the present state of the war, and the mediation, I do not see any sudden issue very likely by a treaty; and how the events of another campaign may ruin the hopes and fears, and thereby change the interests and pretensions of the several parties, no man can conjecture. In the meantime, I could not leave this place, nor end the year, without giving you this general scheme, by which you may the easier judge of the motives you shall hear of in the course of the treaty on the war, since you are pleased to say it will be a satisfaction to you. I know it will be so to hear we are all well at present here. My wife intends to take a trip into England about the time I shall go to Nimeguen, but to return to me there within a month or two; my son, I hope, entertains you often from London, as my sister does from hence, which allows me to trouble you less."

Temple was doomed to meet with another mortification, before he assumed his functions as mediator. The King was once more persuaded that his affairs at the Hague suffered from the ambassador's want of credit at the court; and it was suggested by letter to William, that he should ask for a confidential agent to be sent from England.

The Prince imparted Arlington's letters to Sir William Temple, "and bid him assure the King and the Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me, and would not say so much to any other man."*

The King was nevertheless induced to send over Sir Gabriel Silvius, as "a person they knew his Highness would trust," instructed, according to Charles's letter to his nephew, "to know the bottom of the Prince's mind upon the peace, before the campaign began." "The Prince showed me," continues Temple, "this letter too, and said he knew not what he meant; that Lord Arlington knew as well as any man how far he trusted Sir Gabriel Silvius and me." The Treasurer, also, recommending an Englishman to the Prince's attention, had mentioned Silvius's journey. "In the latter part of his letter," said William to Temple, "pray tell him they are very much mistaken . . . . I never said any thing to Silvius that I was not content my coachman should know." I laughed and asked him, "And would you have me tell my Lord Treasurer so too?" He turned about and said resolutely, "Yes, do."

William gave none of his confidence to the new agent; he suspected that the mission arose out of spite to Temple, and was intended to raise jealousies among the allies, by creating a suspicion that the King and Prince had something in hand between them, with which Temple, whose politics were well known, was not fit to be trusted. The result

* II. 331.

of the conferences with Silvius was, that "his Majesty desired a good peace, and that his Highness desired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one, which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. All the question was, What was a good peace?" And upon that the Prince could get nothing out of this special agent.

This is the account which, in his correspondence with Danby*, and in his Memoirs†, Temple gives of the transaction. He did not conceal his feelings from Lord Arlington. "I very well understand," he tells him, "the bias you are pleased to give to what I said, of your being like to be informed of all that passed here, when Sir Gabriel Silvius arrives, by the thanks you give me of that assurance, though you might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another way, upon the notice I gave you at the same time, of my leaving this place upon my journey designed for Nimeguen; yet since you rather choose to give it this tour, *I will very easily and like a plain man confess to you, considering the manner in which you intended Sir Gabriel Silvius should come over here, I had no reason to believe at all you cared for advices I could give you from hence, or believed they were worth his Majesty's receiving, or at least considering.* Which is all I shall say upon that matter, having not the view of being pleasant, nor the disposition of being unpleasant to you, upon this or any other occasion."‡ We have not the letter in which Arlington endeavoured to

* IV. 132. 177. † II. 330. ‡ Jan. 24., iv. 146.

appease his friend; but the following is part of Temple's reply, being the last of his published letters to his original patron, and probably the last which he addressed to him: "We will, if you please, leave off any farther mention of what passed in our former letters, upon occasion of Sir Gabriel Silvius's journey hither. *I do believe what you tell me, that there is no mystery in it;* and yet whenever we meet, I will tell you very frankly what was once in design; which must have been very injurious to me, though perhaps not so intended, and will upon it leave you to judge yourself, whether I was imposed upon by those from whom I received the knowledge of it; for, of my many weaknesses, that of my being credulous is none, especially where it is so unpleasant to make me suspect the good intentions of those few whose friendship I esteem and would be glad to deserve." . . . . "I wish him (Sir Gabriel), with all my heart, the honour of either finding or raising any dispositions here more agreeable to his Majesty's desires in what concerns the peace, than those I have yet been able to give account of. But *I think it more for his Majesty's service to give him a true account that he likes not, than a feigned or disguised one that he likes; which is the way to engage him in measures that will fail, and sometimes in retreats of little honour.*"*

"This good usage," says Temple in reference to this mission, "ended all correspondence between Lord Arlington and me, which had lasted by letters to this time, though coldly since my being last in

* Feb. 11. 1676; iv. 166.

England. But upon Sir Gabriel Silvius's coming to the Hague in January, and my preparations to go to Nimeguen, I ended that scent, having not learned enough of the age, nor of the court I lived in, to act an unsincere part, either in friendship or in love."*

These occurrences made no alteration in the legation to Nimeguen†, in which Temple was associated with Lord Berkeley‡, and Sir Leoline Jenkins.§ The last arrived at the Hague in January; and now commenced an acquaintance, but no friendship, between these two eminent diplomatists. Jenkins went singly to Nimeguen, while Temple remained at his station, where many formal points were to be settled, concerning the *first visits* and other troublesome matters. Temple suggested that general instructions should be given to the Plenipotentiaries, commanding them to avoid all points of ceremony, as well as they could, between the mediators and the parties themselves; and when

* II. 331.

† In this commission, which bears date Dec. 13. 1675, Temple is named between Berkeley and Jenkins.

‡ George, thirteenth Lord Berkeley, at that time ambassador at Paris; privy councillor in 1678; and created Earl of Berkeley in 1679. He died in 1698, aged 71. Collins, iii. 617.

§ Leoline Jenkins was the son of a yeoman in Glamorganshire; educated at Jesus College, Oxford, of which he became master after the restoration; having, in the interval, lived in retirement, and acted as a private tutor. He took to the practice of the civil and canon law; and, in 1663, was admitted into Doctor's Commons; and, about 1664, made judge of the Admiralty; and, in 1668, judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In 1673, he went as plenipotentiary to the congress of Cologne, with Lord Sunderland and Sir Joseph Williamson. He was afterwards a privy councillor, and, in 1680, secretary of state. Died in 1685, aged 62.—Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

that could not be, to leave it to them upon the place to act in point of ceremony by consent, as they should judge best for his Majesty's honour, his ends in the mediation, and the practice of other princes, but particularly that of the treaty at Cologne."* But the King of England would not give so much latitude of discretion to his representatives; and these small points combined to produce discussion and difference.†

Nor was more progress made in business of higher importance. The Prince again recommended the match between the King of Spain and Mademoiselle d'Orleans; or, if this could not be, the establishment of a better frontier for Flanders. "If neither of these can be compassed, and France resolve to have no peace but upon the foot of affairs as they stand at present, and *his Majesty will only consider their possession, and not the justice of it or interests of Christendom in it;* yet, for his part, he sees no remedy but they must try the fortune of another campaign, in which he hopes so to behave himself, as that his Majesty shall not be ashamed of him, nor at all lessen the kindness or good opinion he had hitherto expressed for him." Such was the representation of the Prince's views, which Temple prepared for transmission to the King. "Having read it," he says, "to his Highness, and asked whether I had apprehended him right, he said, '*So right, that if you had been within me you could not*

* Jan. 17. 1676; iv. 134, 135.; and see pp. 128. 160. 233. 242. 250.

† It does not appear on the face of the correspondence, and it is not worth a deeper investigation, how all these knotty points were solved.

have done it better; and *if I were the best Catholic in the world, and you were my confessor, I could say no more to you.*' I asked, 'But could you say no more to any other man?' His Highness answered, '*I would not say so much to any other man, but can say more to no man.*'" *

The Prince's constancy was weakly seconded by the States. In February, Temple informed the King that the expensiveness of the war, and the diminution of their trade, were likely to disable them from prosecuting it beyond one campaign. Under this apprehension, the house of Austria suggested that the Dutch should be relieved from the payment of their share of the subsidies, on joining with the other confederates in a general guaranty of the conquests made last year upon the Swedes in Germany; so that, from these conquests, Denmark and other subsidied allies might be compensated.†

Temple, as well as the States-General, disliked this arrangement, as leading to a long war; and William desired no change until after the experience of another campaign.

While the question of peace or war in Europe, in which England believed that she had at this time the deepest interest, was thus unsatisfactorily discussed, Temple was concerned in the preparation for an event by which, in truth, the interests of England were more nearly affected than by all the possible arrangements at Nimeguen.

William had, in 1674, received coldly the sug-

* Jan. 17. 1676; iv. 136. † Feb. 11. 1676; iv. 164.

gestion brought from Charles himself by Lord Ossory *, of a marriage with the Princess Mary. For his declining at that time, and now courting the match, historians have assigned different reasons †, which it belongs not to Temple's biographer to discuss. In the conversation about to be noticed, he acknowledged that the leaders of the popular party in England, who professed to be his friends, had persuaded him that the marriage would occasion a belief that he ran wholly into the measures of the court. It is, therefore, not improbable that the proposal, accompanying an exhortation to peace with France, upon terms which he disliked, might strike him as a part of a scheme for involving him in the policy which he detested.

Previously to his departure for the army, at the opening of the campaign of 1676, he renewed the subject with Temple ‡; requiring him to speak "as a friend, or at least as an indifferent person, and not as the King's ambassador." § He consulted him as to the policy of the marriage: and "upon the person and the dispositions of the young lady; for though it would not pass in the world for a Prince to seem concerned in those particulars, yet for himself he would tell me, without any sort of affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no circumstances of fortune or interest would engage him, without those of the person, especially those

* See p. 429. Notwithstanding what Lord Ossory said, it may be concluded that William received the offer coldly, as nothing came of it.
† See Ralph, i. 336. Macpherson, i. 244.
‡ II. 342. § II. 342, 343.

of humour and dispositions: that he might, perhaps, not be very easy for a wife to live with;—he was sure he should not to such wives as were generally in the courts of this age: that if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, it was what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his life; and that, after the manner he was resolved to live with a wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended on her disposition and education; and if I knew anything particular of the Lady Mary in these points, he desired me to tell him freely." *

Temple set forth the political advantages of the match, which would place William "one degree nearer the crown, and to all appearance the next;" he lightly estimated the apprehension of William's friends, who had endeavoured to persuade him that the government of England was in danger: and urged that William was more likely to bring Charles round to his views than to be led by Charles into others. He said all that his knowledge permitted in favour of the Princess, having "always heard his wife and sister speak with all the advantage that could be of what they could discern in a Princess so young." The result was, that Lady Temple went over to England, with letters to the King and Duke, from the Prince as well as Temple, who also authorised his wife to impart the secret to

* P. 343.

Lord Danby*, and "to no other person, the privacy of it being very much recommended to her."

William announced his inclination to marry in England, and requested permission to go to England after the campaign.

If William showed little eagerness for the alliance, when it was proposed on the part of the lady, her friends now retaliated upon the tardy lover. "All that I can say on an affair wherewith your highness encharged me, is, that *the person chiefly concerned* (the Duke of York) endeavoured to have it excused absolutely till after the peace, and that such an answer might be given, upon which time was taken to consider; since which I have heard nothing." †

From this time, there was no interruption of the friendship between the Prince and Temple; and

* April 23. 1676. Danby's Letters, p. 247. There are some contradictions in the several accounts given of this match, which serve chiefly to exhibit the mystification of business in Charles's court. Danby gives Temple's letter, among the letters published by his own direction, with this note:—"His letter sent to me by his lady, with a message to acquaint me with the Prince of Orange's intention to propose a match for himself to the Lady Mary; and to desire my answer to her ladyship to divers questions which she was desired to enquire of me in order to that match. And this was the first motion in that affair. According to the charge of secrecy mentioned in that letter, it was never communicated to any other person: *nor did the King know any of the Prince's thoughts of that matter till May*, 1677, when I first tried how the King would approve of such a proposal; and it was full two months after that, before I had any hopes of his Majesty's allowance of any treaty about it." (p. 285.) Yet, not only does Temple mention in his Memoirs that William himself wrote to the King and Duke (ii. 345.), but the collection of his letters contains two (iv. 211—13.) of the same date (April 23.) both to Charles and James. Yet James says nothing in his Memoirs. See Ralph, i. 336.

† To the King, May 29.; iv. 238. From a letter to the Duke, it appears that James himself wrote to the Prince, apparently putting off the matter till after a peace. (p. 251.)

the death of that Dr Moulin, who had been suspected of managing against the English interests, was calculated to improve their good understanding. This man had been formerly employed by Lord Arlington, at the period of the Triple Alliance; and, when discussed after the change of measures, entered into the Prince's service, and became an agent for the malcontents in England. To him the Prince's unwillingness to see the English ambassador during the campaign of 1674 was attributed. Before his death, this man begged pardon of Temple, through his chaplain, for all the false and injurious things he had said of him.*

Sir Leoline Jenkins had now been six months at Nimeguen, but Temple was unwilling to quit the Hague until certain preliminaries should be arranged. One point of discussion must be mentioned, because it was the only point upon which the ambassador-mediator did not agree with his Dutch friends. They brought him a resolution of the States, for introducing at the congress a minister of the Duke of Nieuburg, who had lately, as they said, joined the confederacy, and the ministers of any princes who might thereafter join it. Temple stoutly opposed this pretension, which he said was calculated, and probably intended by some of the allies, to make the congress interminable. He spoke rather sharply: they might as well ask for passports for the Kings of Macassar or Ceylon, or for the Duke of Muscovy; and he would publish their resolutions, that the people might see upon

* II. 345.

what points they turned the affairs of the peace. He obliged the Dutch ministers to withdraw this pretension; and he now obeyed the commands which he had received, to join his colleagues at Nimeguen.

CHAPTER XX.

TEMPLE AT THE CONGRESS OF NIMEGUEN. — FRENCH REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS. — TEMPLE'S OWN ACCOUNT. — BEVERNING. — TEMPLE SEES WILLIAM AT SOESDYKE. — POINTS OF ETIQUETTE. — TEMPLE GOES TO THE HAGUE. — SEES FAGEL AND WILLIAM. — UNPROSPEROUS STATE OF THE MEDIATION.

1676—1677.

TEMPLE arrived at Nimeguen in July 1676, after surmounting the dangers of the approach. His horses*, receiving with less complacency than their master the noisy compliments paid to him by the castle, could with difficulty be kept steady on the flying bridge. He did, however, finally succeed in reaching the house of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

Lord Berkeley had not then arrived, but the two colleagues proceeded to act upon the instructions, of which the essential part was thus framed: "As for the matter of treaty, we don't see how we can at present well direct you any thing in it, that being to arise from the several parties among themselves, according to the pretensions they shall be found to have upon each other respectively. In which your part as mediators will be, so mutually

* It appears that his equipage consisted of "two coaches and six horses, one waggon and his trunks, and eight saddle horses." ii. 351.

to represent and value the reasons of each towards the other, as to bring them at last to a fair and reasonable accommodation, which you are to labour with all the care and skill you can; still remembering to keep that fairness and impartiality in the negotiation which may become the person and figure we bear of a mediator between the parties; and that 's as much as we think can be now said upon that matter; only in the general it may be fit on this point to warn you, as to the method as well of your first entering as in the whole progress of the treaty, that *you should not, by any means, be drawn to make any proposals or scheme of conditions between any of the parties,* but leave it to them to make what demands they shall think fit upon one another; and then your part is to be, so fairly to manage them between the parties, as to bring them to condescend to one another in such reasonable temperament and moderation as the matter shall be capable of. And this method of proceeding, as it seems most proper and natural for the figure you are in, so we think it much the safest, and least subject to exception and misconstruction from the parties; and, accordingly, we would have you proceed in it." *

The correspondence which ensued upon these instructions, and which continued for more than two years, before it ended in the treaty of Nime-

* Life of Jenkins, i. 353. There is no date to the instructions, but the full powers are dated Dec. 13. 1675. The three persons named are therein styled ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries; so that it is not clear what Lady Giffard means by saying that Temple had the peculiar honour of being called ambassador-mediator.

guen, is extremely voluminous. Our notice will be confined to those of the transactions of this period, in which Sir William Temple had a peculiar concern, or which were the subject of his particular remarks.

His expectations of an early or satisfactory agreement among the parties, had not been raised since the commencement of the year. * The success of the campaign had been hitherto on the side of France. † Louis, therefore, was now anxious to secure his conquests by a treaty; and "desired no better peace than upon the present plan of affairs. The confederates, especially the house of Austria, were sullen, as losers use to be, and so in all the paces of the treaty are slow and resty, hoping for something from the campaign which may make room for pretensions that would hardly be in countenance as things stand at present. The Swede was earnest for a peace, as having more hopes of recovering himself that way than by a war. . . . . Denmark," on the other hand, "and Brandenburgh, were eager in the war, finding the Swedes weak, and unrelievable by France, any farther than their money, and so hoping to drive them this summer out of Germany." ‡

The Dutch, as Temple had already perceived, were tired of the war, and nearly reduced to despair; but they "dared not break from their con-

* See p. 460.

† They had already taken Condé and Bouchain since the opening of the campaign of 1676. Trevor, i. 121.

‡ To Lord Danby, June 24. 1676; iv. 257.

federates, *not trusting England enough, nor France at all,* so as to depend upon either after the peace was made." * And though the people, and the States-General, despaired of improving their condition by perseverance in the contest, it was not so with their youthful commander.

Under such circumstances, it would not have been easy for the mediators to devise terms which all parties would have accepted, even had their instructions been less positive in this respect; but Temple was called upon, instantly upon his arrival, to act upon his restrictive orders,—much to the disappointment of the French plenipotentiaries.

These were D'Estrades and Colbert (of whom we have already heard), and D'Avaux †; all favourite diplomatists of the school of Louis XIV. The official and *confidential* communications between these accomplished ministers, and their still more accomplished master, have been published: in these are to be found some particulars of Sir William Temple's proceedings at Nimeguen, of which neither his own memoirs and letters, nor the official papers of Jenkins, make any mention.

It is stated that, at the second conference, Temple, claiming Colbert as his old friend, proposed to converse privately with him, *so that what*

* Ib.

† John Anthony D'Avaux, great nephew of him who represented France at Munster. Wicquefort does not mention D'Avaux in his chapter of illustrious ambassadors; but he tells us incidentally that he was very particular as to his personal appearance, and fond of writing (p. 202.). He commenced diplomacy at Venice. Died 1709, aged 69. (Biog. Univ. iii. 105.)

should pass should remain a secret between the two. * Colbert did not, as he says, so far engage in this, as to fail in his obligation to communicate to his colleagues whatever he should hear concerning the negotiation; yet he said enough to induce Temple to proceed, and it was *sur ce fondement d'une conversation particulière*, that Temple, if Colbert speak the truth, used language with respect to the States, and the Prince of Orange, which it is difficult to reconcile either with his own statements and known opinions, or with other parts of the French correspondence.

The King of England, according to this representation, being very desirous that Louis should derive from the peace all the advantages that he could reasonably wish for, thought that there were no better means of accomplishing this object, than by *drawing off the Prince of Orange from his engagement with Spain;* that, in obedience to the King's instructions, he had endeavoured to persuade the Prince that the States-General were tired of the war, *that the Spaniards began to use language very offensive to his highness, that they had failed in all they had promised, by sea and land, and would be very glad to see him perish, if his ruin would advance their affairs;* that he had done all he could to persuade the Prince of these things, but found him unmoveable, and satisfied that his honour was inseparably bound to the Spaniards; that William was flattered by the Emperor and other allies, and

* D'Estrades, July 17. 1676; vii. 46.

hoped, by perseverance in the war, to obtain the sovereignty of his country. He nevertheless did not despair, the story continues, of inducing the Prince to consent to a peace; that if France would content herself with the places in Flanders near to her frontiers, William might oblige the Spaniards to accept of these conditions; or if not, might make a separate peace.

Colbert's answer set forth the moderation of his master, and the desire of Louis to be on good terms with the Dutch, *to see the Prince principal in the State*, and to cultivate the friendship of Sir William Temple himself. He flattered himself that he had made some impression upon Temple, with whose openness of heart, sincerity, and fitness for his high functions, the ambassadors were much struck. His attachment to the Prince of Orange, and the confidence reposed in him by that Prince, would be likely to procure for him the glory, of which he was ambitious, of the greatest share in the work to be accomplished. And they hoped that his good sense would incline him to prefer the good opinion of Louis, conjointly with that of his own sovereign, to any other which he might possess.

The ambassadors did not persuade their sagacious master, that Temple was other than the devoted adherent of the Prince of Orange's interests; he knew, too, that he was of the opinion that a change in Louis's possessions in Flanders was essentially necessary. He was well enough satisfied of the good intentions of Charles, to expect much benefit from Temple's exertions, *if he would act up to his mas-*

...'s intentions: but of this he had much room to doubt. The ambassadors, however, were enjoined to gain over Temple to better sentiments, by a seeming confidence.* But they, too, were soon satisfied that Temple's inclinations were "on the enemy's side," and that he thought the Prince bound in honour to make no peace without reasonable conditions for Spain.† Temple did not miss the opportunity of proposing his favourite scheme, the marriage of the Princess of Orleans to the King of Spain. All he got was a remark from Louis, that M. Temple could scarcely be aware of the merit of Mademoiselle, when he proposed that she should have a portion so considerable.‡

It would seem that Louis apprised Charles of his apprehensions concerning Sir William Temple, and received an assurance, on which he did not altogether rely, of his entire concurrence with his colleagues, Berkeley and Jenkins, of whose probity and good affection the French King was fully convinced.

One of the most troublesome among preliminary points was the question of establishing a circuit of neutral territory about Nimeguen. The Dutch desired that this circuit should be entirely exempted from contribution as well as hostility; and this pretension was warmly maintained by Temple, who argued for it with asperity.‖ According to the French ambassadors, he lost his temper; and this

* D'Estrades, July 28, p. 53. † August 4, p. 117.
‡ Aug. 15, p. 132. § Aug. 2, p. 168.
‖ Sept. 1, p. 187.

incident, with others concerning passports, exposed him to a vehement imputation of partiality. According to the Frenchmen, (it must be remembered that the Englishmen had no reporter,) Temple came to them the next day with expressions of regret at the suspicion. If he was otherwise than impartial, he would wish to be recalled; he came to speak the sentiments of his King; and he added, in order, it would appear, to satisfy them that he would not execute counsels of which he did not approve; that he had absented himself for three years from the court, when he was not satisfied with the proceedings of the government. In his private conversation with Colbert, he went so far as to express great anxiety for the favour of Louis, and regret at the obstinacy of the Prince of Orange. By this language, the Frenchmen were led to flatter themselves that they might do something with Temple, especially through the channel of his sister. Madame Colbert told them that Lady Giffard was sensible of the value of what might be expected from the King's gratitude; and as she had a great ascendency over her brother, she would be of much use to France in the negotiation.* This suggestion was too much in the spirit of Louis's diplomacy not to be received with favour: he authorised his representatives to make great promises with a view to this object, and appeared for a time to entertain the hope of availing himself of his influence with the Prince†; but he soon found that the terms

* Colbert to Pomponne, D'Estrades, Sept. 8., p. 203.
† Sept. 19., p. 228.

which alone Temple would support, would be far from gratifying his ambition, which he thought that he meritoriously repressed, in contenting himself with the preservation of his conquests. *

Some time after this, Temple, being invited by the Prince to meet him at Soesdyke, communicated the invitation to Colbert, expressing his regret that William should have returned to the army. He then proposed to set on foot a separate and secret negotiation between William and the French, in which the interests of the Princes of Germany should be thrown aside, *but Sweden should recover her losses;* and suggested that he should himself carry to England the Prince's opinion, and then proceed with them to Paris. He assured the Frenchmen, moreover, that the States had resolved to make a separate peace, if their allies did not speedily arrive. Colbert and his colleagues received all this with much distrust, especially as it would separate Sweden from France.† Temple met the Prince, and they learnt *from Lady Giffard* that he was much disappointed at finding William so resolute for war. ‡ Temple himself told Colbert, that he had urged upon the Prince the impolicy of adhering to Spain, and the advantages of obtaining the good-will of France; and he then offered to communicate to Colbert the Prince's sentiments, on the condition (formerly suggested) of *secrecy.* D'Estrades was at first of opinion that the English mediator should be amused into a fuller confidence, but he finally con-

* D'Estrades, Oct. 3., p. 271. † Sept. 22., p. 234.
‡ Sept. 29., p. 257.

curred in the refusal to communicate with Temple upon the footing proposed.*

Louis taught his ambassadors to place no confidence in what Temple said to them of the Prince, all which he ascribed to artifice.† He gave him no encouragement to come to Paris; but he enjoined his ministers to favour the notion of a separate treaty, and told them *that Colbert might give Temple the promise he desired, without any intention of keeping it.* ‡

Notwithstanding this characteristic injunction, nothing came of Temple's suggestion; and the subsequent French correspondence speaks of nothing more than of Temple's devotion to the Prince of Orange, and inveteracy against the peace, and the interests of France.§

Such is the *French* account of what passed between the French and English ambassadors in the summer and autumn of 1676. The account given by the ambassador of England is totally at variance with it!

Temple tells us, that *Colbert himself proposed the separate treaty with the Prince of Orange*, and requested Temple, with a very particular assurance of his master's esteem for him, to undertake this negotiation, as a person who had influence with the Prince.‖

Temple's answer, according to his own contem-

* Oct. 2., p. 262. † Oct. 10., p. 303.
‡ Oct. 17., p. 314. § Dec. 3., p. 402, &c.
‖ In his memoirs, Temple represents the French ministers as adding that "if he would espouse this affair, he might reckon upon what he pleased himself, from the bounty and generosity of their master." — ii. 353-4.

poraneous report, consisted of a disclaimer of influence over the Prince, of whom he said, that no man had *aucun pouvoir sur son esprit;* and of a suggestion that the Prince would do nothing until the close of the campaign. *

These overtures for a separate discussion Temple did not, at first, include in his official reports, and received a sort of rebuke from Williamson (with whom he never agreed well) for the omission. This led him to a more particular account of Colbert's communications, which is directly at variance with that of the French minister himself; being, indeed, in the strictest sense of the word, the *reverse* of Colbert's statement.† In the memoirs, too, it is distinctly averred, that Temple set forth William's unwillingness "to break from his allies, against all faith and agreements, by separate measures;" and averred confidently, that the patriotic prince would prefer the restoration of a few towns in Flanders to any personal interest of his own. For Colbert had not only hinted at William's eventual exaltation in the state, but had suggested that the King would even permit him to acquire the glory of taking Maestricht.

This is *all* that we have from Temple of his early communications with the French ministers.‡

By a reasonable allowance for the different ways of telling a story by two several parties, seeming contradictions may generally be reconciled; but

* To the King, Sept. 2. 1676; iv. 259.
† Jan. 22., iv. 302.
‡ In the joint letters of Temple and Jenkins there is nothing upon the subject.

the difference between Temple and the Frenchman is scarcely within the benefit of this rule. It may not be altogether impossible, that the two parties, dealing in diplomatic generalities, and each humouring, as might be justifiable in conversations avowedly informal, the opinions of the other, might not have entirely understood their several meanings. According to both, William was averse from a separate treaty: ordinary expressions of regret at the existence of this obstacle might have been hastily taken for disapprobation, and a desire to remove it. But the alleged demand of a promise of secrecy from Colbert is a matter of fact, of which Temple says not a word; while the French ministers relate it circumstantially. The occurrence is in itself extremely improbable, but scarcely more difficult to be credited than invented. Temple could have no motive to make the proposal; Colbert could have no motive for saying that he made it. If the question were to be decided according to personal character, we might fairly claim for Temple a right to be believed in preference to any *diplomate* of Louis XIV., however honourable in private life: but here is, on one side, a circumstantial affirmation, on the other an inferential negation. It is, perhaps, more probable that Temple should have omitted to report the circumstance, important as it was, than that Colbert and his colleagues should have invented it. On the other hand, if Temple had sincerely made the proposal, and Colbert was deliberately authorised to accede to it, it is strange that it should

have had no result. We are, on the whole, inclined to believe that Temple did *not* make any specific offer of communication, under promise of secrecy. Each party affected a greater confidence in the other than he really felt; each was a little *mystified:* and so are we, after hearing both.

However the French and English authorities may differ as to Temple, they both agree as to the behaviour of the representative of the States-General. The hour of dinner was, in that age, noon, or not much later; all people therefore took their walks in the afternoon. In one of these promenades, the English and Dutch ministers met those of France.* Beverning, the Dutch diplomatist, is described as fond of rural solitude, and it is probable, therefore, that his head was scarcely strong enough for the society of a town in which persons of all nations were assembled. He was now avowedly in the condition which Louis XIV., in courtly periphrasis, describes as "un état où l'on s'explique souvent avec plus de vérité †;" and this he avowed with a frankness incident to the novelty of his situation, if it was not the result of very deep diplomacy. He took one of the Frenchmen aside, and protested warmly in favour of peace and alliance with France; such, he said, were also the sentiments of the Prince: but they all desired that something might be done for their allies. The Frenchman—we know not which of the three had

* D'Estrades, vii. 141.; Temple, iv. 261.
† D'Estrades, Aug. 22. 1676, vii. 168.

the honour of being selected for Beverning's *confidant*—answered, that the folly of their allies ought not to prevent the States from availing themselves of the proffered friendship of his master. The open-hearted Hollander, hugging his new French acquaintance, replied that *they* at least would be good friends, and began withal to discuss the terms of peace; when the appearance of Temple, and other gentlemen, who, perhaps, thought the affairs of Europe scarcely safe in his hands, caused M. Beverning to withdraw.

The visit to Soesdyke gave Temple the means of ascertaining William's sentiments more accurately than they could be collected from Beverning in his cups. The Prince did not dissemble from Temple that the States "had a horrible mind to the peace:" he himself had no indisposition to it, but expected it rather from a declaration on the part of Charles as to the terms, than from a congress. But, as Temple had told M. Colbert he thought that nothing could be done until after the campaign, on this occasion, William complained of the "somewhat hardish terms *" in which the King had refused his request of permission to go over into England before the peace.

Temple's report † of this conference produced a letter ‡ from Charles, lamenting his nephew's

* He spoke of the answer he had received from the King to the letter which he had sent by Lady Temple. See the note in p. 469.

† Nimeguen, Sept. 20. 1676, iv. 262. It appears, that while the ambassadors wrote jointly to the Secretaries of State Temple reported directly and solely to the King.

‡ Oct. 8., Coddenham.

inclination to continue the war, and enjoining him to promote peace. Temple faithfully repeated this communication to the Prince *, and defended him against the King's accusation of too great fondness for the war.†

During all this time little business was done; indeed, *no* progress was made in negotiation. Much time was spent in arranging preliminaries: besides the point of the neutral circuit round the town, there were questions concerning visits, police, and all such matters. Temple's great care was to avoid disputes, and his expedients were generally adopted. In consequence of the narrowness of the streets, he persuaded the several ambassadors to be content with two horses, two pages, and four lacqueys in their visits of ceremony. The French, whose equipage was liberally appointed, did not much like the curtailment; but, in this particular, the mediation was successful. Still, many questions of etiquette remained, and produced disagreements, in which, however, neither Temple nor England had any concern.

The mediators dined with nobody, but kept an open table, except on post days, and one day kept for amusement. But there were constant soirées; and Temple never failed to take a part "where there were ladies, and where the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careless and easy suppers or collations."‡ The Judge of the Admiralty had not the same turn for agreeable society, and

* Oct. 19., iv. 266. † Oct. 31., iv. 268. ‡ II. 364.

he therefore betook himself to bed at eight o'clock, while his colleague was thus gaily employed: thus, it was observed, the mediation was always active, one of the mediators being always on the alert. And, "to say truth," says the more lively of them, "two more different men were never joined in one commission, nor agreed better in it."

This perpetual motion would have been highly useful, if there had been any thing to do; but neither mediators nor parties would propose terms. Bevering, whose anxiety for peace, though announced with more animation in the afternoon, was entertained by him in sober sadness, in vain pressed the mediators for a project.

Indeed, even the representatives of the several powers arrived slowly, and when they did come, or prepare to come, there were almost endless difficulties about passports, the form of the full powers, and such like matters *, which often involved questions of rank and precedence, in which Temple found the Danes and Swedes, as being secondary powers, more peculiarly tenacious. All, however, even the Emperor's ambassadors, gave place to the mediators; though, upon one occasion, Temple could only avert a dispute by adroit management. While he was prepared to sit down upon the chair belonging to the first in rank, the brisk ambassador of Austria got the start of Sir

* There was one of more importance, as it involved the rights of the Duke of Lorraine, whose minister France refused to acknowledge; but Temple had no memorable part in this matter.

Leoline Jenkins, and stood before the second chair, which was that mediator's right. Sir William Temple, as if carelessly, remained on his legs; and thus Count Kinski's impertinence had no other result, than that of obliging the representatives of all Europe to stand while they discussed her affairs.

At the end of the year 1676*, Temple went to the Hague, upon an invitation from the Prince. Here he found very different sentiments in the statesman and in the hero. Pensionary Fagel sat resting his head upon his hand, in sickness and despondency. He represented, "with something in his face both serious and sad," the necessity of immediate and even separate peace, and the entire abandonment of Flanders to the French, on whose forbearance he was aware the safety of Holland must thereafter depend. When Temple reported this desperate counsel to the Prince, adding that, according to Fagel, there was not one man in Holland against it, William answered, with vivacity, "Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is myself; and I will hinder it as long as I can." Cold and unimaginative as we always esteem William, his conversation was not always without illustrations approaching poetry. "He must go on, and take his fortune:" he had that morning seen a poor old man tugging alone in a little boat, with his orders, against the eddy of a sluice, upon

* Lord Berkeley arrived at Nimeguen in the middle of November. Jenkins, i. 503.

a canal; when, with the last endeavours, he was just got up to the place intended, the force of the eddy carried him quite back again; but he turned his boat as soon as he could, and fell to his oars again, and thus three or four times while the Prince saw him. "This old man's business and mine are too like one another! I ought, however, to do just as the old man did, without knowing what will succeed, any more than what did succeed in the poor man's case." * We have applauded naval metaphors from experienced orators, less effective for their object than this was, to express the adverse fortunes of the House of Nassau, and the perseverance of its princes.

Upon what he saw at the Hague, Temple warned Secretary Williamson, that if the King would not interfere more actively towards a general peace, France and Holland would soon enter into a separate and, perhaps, private negotiation; "and then," he says, "the Dutch will be ready to clap up a peace in two days' time, whenever they get more out of patience at the slowness and sincereness of their allies in the general treaty; or more apprehensive of dishonour and ill success in the war; or when these, or any other circumstances, shall bring the Prince to fall into the same opinion with the States upon this matter." †

Temple's representations were coldly received by Williamson, who pretended to think it improbable that "the French would be ready for a

* II. 387.

† Jan. 5. 1677, iv. 270.

separate peace, even if the Dutch should fall into these thoughts * ;" and he reproved Temple for the lateness of his warning. Temple showed him, with respectful firmness, that the whole course of his communications from Nimeguen had been in the same strain, though much neglected by the discourteous secretary. †

Charles desired ‡ that his nephew would solicit his interference for the preservation of Flanders, in a memorial of which he might make public use. William complied, but adhered to his opinion, that unless Charles could bring about the restoration of Franche Comté, as an equivalent to Spain, and induce France to adhere to the terms of Aix-la-Chapelle, or terms differing but a little, " the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it."

The King would not go so far ; he proposed a different arrangement of the towns in Flanders, which involved the cession of Cambrai to France. § He offered also a renewal of his alliance with the States General.

These suggestions were carried by Temple to the Prince, who was hunting at Dieren. There he dined with the Prince, and spoiled, by his communications, his highness's dinner. Cambrai was particularly unpalatable ; and William declared, using a characteristic illustration, that he would

* II. 388.

† Hague, Jan. 22. 1677, iv. 302.

‡ See Temple's to the King, Jan. 15., iv. 291.; but our information is here incomplete.

§ Cambrai, Aire, and St. Omer were to be exchanged for Aeth, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Condé, and Bouchain. — ii. 395.

rather charge a thousand men with a hundred than consent to such a peace.*

While this was passing in Temple's absence from the Congress, the information sent home by the ambassadors at Nimeguen had led to an instruction to *protest* against any separate treaty. In this protest Temple saw nothing but a useless parade; and he stated his objections with his usual freedom, and with admirable judgment. "I do not well understand to what purpose such a thing can be intended. If we dislike the thing, and it appear to sanguine men at court as dangerous as to melancholy men in the country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our protestations can, in my opinion, only serve to irritate the parties, and bind them together by the apprehension of our being angry at them both, and at their conjunction. Neither can I well see, either what ground such a protestation can have, any more than what effect. For the parties have not obliged themselves to his Majesty, upon his mediation of a general peace, either that they will not treat it without his mediation, nor separately; or if they had, the same interests that force them to break through so many obligations to their allies, would make them as bold with those to a mediator."† In his anxiety upon this subject, he solicited the interference of the Lord Treasurer. "Why should

* To the Lord Treasurer, Arnheim, Jan. 25.; and to Williamson, Jan. 28., iv. 308. and 314.

† Jan. 8., iv. 279.

one be angry, when one hurts nobody but one's self? . . . . I cannot imagine either how to ground our offence, or to seek our revenge; and it would be waiting till we are struck, and then trust to crying out. . . . . It would be better to anger one of the parties before a separate peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by protesting against a separate one." *

This transaction, again, is mystified by the French correspondence. Nothing is said of the protest, and it is probable that none was delivered; but it is distinctly affirmed that Lord Berkeley betrayed to the French ambassadors the secrets of the English embassy. He told them that his colleagues had, contrary to his opinion, and without his participation, complained to the King of England of the intention to make a separate peace †; and he espoused, even too hotly and openly, the French interests.‡ Among other circumstances, Berkeley told them that the King of England had written to his ambassador in a sense quite different from that of the protest.§ Jenkins, the French reports represent as entirely united with Temple, and both very partial mediators.‖

If one half of the story about Berkeley be true, he must have been a weak or a bad man: Temple represents him as weak, through age and infirmities,

* Jan. 8., iv. 281. † Jan. 8., D'Estrades, viii. 12.
‡ Jan. 15., p. 37. § Jan. 26., p. 58.
‖ Jan. 29., p. 74. See also July 27. and Aug. 12., ix., 49. and 89.

and was probably in the right. While Temple was at the Hague, Laurence Hyde*, youngest son of the late Chancellor Clarendon, arrived there, in his way from Poland. We know not whether Temple and Hyde had had any previous intercourse: Temple's connection with the enemies of Clarendon probably indisposed the son towards him; and certainly, Hyde is one of the very few men, in whose writings any thing disrespectful to Sir William Temple is to be found. Temple, however, as was his habit, spoke freely and confidentially to his new colleague (for Hyde was now included in the Nimeguen mission), and complained much of Lord Berkeley, whom he represented as more than inefficient. "In conferences he speaks very little; but when he does think it necessary to show that he is alive, it is directly prejudicial to the business of the mission, and something very indecent to be said, as particularly about not admitting the Pope's mediation, *which*, he said, *the King would not admit of, because, at this time, the humour of the people would not bear it*, and this in presence of a great many other ambassadors."† On a later day, Temple told Hyde that it was usual for the ministers to wait upon the Prince on Sundays, and that

* L. Hyde was member for Oxford university in 1661, and defended his father in 1667. In 1676 he went as ambassador to John Sobieski, King of Poland. He filled various high offices under Charles, James, William, and Anne (who was his niece), and was distinguished as a Tory and high churchman. He was created Viscount Hyde in 1681, and Earl of Rochester in 1683. According to Burnet (i. 447.), he had great talents, but a violent and imperious temper. See Singer's Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester, i. xv.; and Biog. Brit. iv. 2738.

† Hyde's Diary, Jan. 14. 1677; Clar. Corr., i. 627.

he, Temple, should go, and perhaps stay and dine with his Highness. "I would have gone with him," says Hyde, "to have made my court, and not have dined, as I told him; but *I think I perceived he was afraid I might dine there too, and he was doubtful whether he could find in his heart to give me place*, not willing to do it, and believing that he ought to do it: and, God knows, I never intended, nor would have taken it; but this apprehension I saw plainly made him advise me not to go then, but to defer my visit till the afternoon." Temple, nevertheless, pressed Hyde very much to meet the Prince at dinner at his house, which he did; nor does he mention any difficulty about precedence. But he has another *rub* at Temple. "After this he held me in discourse a great long hour, of things most relating to himself, which are never without vanity: but this was most especially full of it, and some stories of his amours. *I say this only that I may remember the man with a note.*"*

This testimony, we fear, was not wanting to fix upon Temple a little harmless vanity; but Laurence Hyde had evidently a predisposition to find instances of it; and his mode of receiving the civilities of his distinguished colleague, who offered him the use of his house and horses at Nimeguen, "for which he thanked him, and resolved to make use of my lord ambassador Jenkins, who had used him very well before, and invited him again, as he thought, more earnestly," manifests in Hyde a

* Jan. 17., p. 628.

temper which justifies our receiving his communications with some grains of suspicion. There is no trace in Temple's memoirs of any disagreement with Hyde, of whose character he mentions nothing but its modesty.* Indeed, if D'Estrades be relied upon, Temple acquired an influence over Hyde as complete as that which, according to the same authority, he had obtained over Berkeley: but this observation of the Frenchmen, which was probably inaccurate, proves nothing but the opinion which they had formed of Sir William Temple's accomplishments.

In a second conference with Temple at Soesdyke, the Prince put an end to the discussion of the English project: Charles desired that the peace should be negotiated with France upon the footing of the *uti possidetis;* William was for starting with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.† And the Prince was as little pleased as Temple with the manner of Williamson, through whom the proposals came; and whose despatches the Prince, who used illustrations a little eccentric, compared to *la crême fouettée*, under which unusual metaphor William, "who had a way of falling downright into the bottom of a business," intended to convey the meaning, that the King's ministers dealt artificially with him, and believed they could talk him into any thing.‡ The interference of Charles thus proved ineffectual; and peace appeared hopeless. "Those who had

* II. 399. † Soesdyke, Feb. 26., iv. 320.
‡ To the Lord Treasurer, Nimeguen, March 26., iv. 323.

gained by the war pretended to retain all they had got; and those that had lost pretended to recover all they had lost, and to be repaid the damages they had suffered by the war." *

* II. 404.; in p. 403. is an abstract of the pretensions which the several parties put into the hands of the mediators in February, 1677; and there is a fuller account in Jenkins, ii. 65.

CHAPTER XXI.

TEMPLE IN ENGLAND. — OFFER OF THE SECRETARYSHIP. — PARLIAMENT. — MISSIONS OF HYDE, LORD DURAS, AND GODOLPHIN. — JENKINS. — MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM. — NEGOTIATIONS AND INTRIGUES. — TEMPLE'S SPEECH FOR THE KING. — DECLINES A SECRET NEGOTIATION. — DUTCH TREAT SEPARATELY.

1677—1678.

About the middle of June, 1677, young Temple came over to the Hague, bringing letters to his father from Lord Danby, with an offer of the post of Secretary of State, which Henry Coventry was prepared to resign, *on receiving ten thousand pounds*, of which sum the King, anxious to have the services of Sir William Temple, was willing to lay down the half.

It is probable that this offer was one of the measures which Charles about this time took, in order to conciliate his parliament, and to impress his people with a belief that he was firm in the Protestant and Anti-gallican interest. Yet this was, in point of fact, a period of his closest connection with Louis, from whom he received continual supplies of money. * Nevertheless, he had found it

* A new secret treaty had been concluded between Charles and Louis in January, 1676, to which none were supposed to be privy except the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, and Lord Danby; but even these ministers, though acquainted with the treaty, were afraid of be-

necessary to assemble his parliament early in 1677*; and although we are told that a part of the French money was employed in bribing members into the interest of the Court, the opposition, also bribed, as it is said†, was so violent as to require from the King the appearance of concession to the expressed opinion of the House of Commons, which was very strong in favour of opposition to France, and specifically of an alliance offensive and defensive with the Dutch.‡

It might have been expected that the prevalence of these opinions, in which he had warmly concurred, would reconcile Temple to the high office now proffered to him; but he nevertheless replied to Lord Danby, that he could not raise the half of the sum required; his father had all the estates of the family, and his own employments had not enabled him to do more "than bring the year about, unless, upon the change of them, some presents

coming parties to it, and it was written, as well as signed, by Charles himself. The extent of the stipulations is not known; but Charles assuredly received several sums of money from Louis in 1677, under a condition to prorogue his parliament. — Dalrymple, i. 141—154.

* After the prorogation in June 1675 (see p. 453.), there had been a short and unproductive session in October and November, and then no meeting until Feb. 15. 1677. — Parl. Hist. iv. 740—807.

† As nobody accuses *Temple* of receiving money from France, we shall not enter into the controversy as to the extent or period of this alleged bribery, and to the persons implicated in it. Dalrymple, Fox, and Lord John Russell should be consulted; and Mackintosh, p. 339.

‡ Parl. Hist. iv. 845. 868. 870. 873. 879. 889. The following address was voted on the 23rd of May, 1677, on a report from a committee of the whole house, of which Sir *John Trevor* was the chairman:— "That his Majesty would be pleased to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States-General of the United Provinces; and to make such other alliances with such other of the confederates as his Majesty shall think fit, against the growth and power of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands." — Com. Jour. ix. 424.

attend it." He added, that if he should outlive his father, or if the mediation "*should end with the presents usual to mediators*," he should be at the King's service. He hoped that, either by war or peace, his present employment would soon cease, and he should hope to resign also his embassy at the Hague, "and *the presents of this last would bring something into his purse*, though the other should fail, and go a little way towards what was proposed." * In spite of this answer, a special messenger was sent, and a yacht to bring him over; and he left Nimeguen on the 5th of July, 1677, without any ceremony, and pretending only a sudden journey to England. He had an immediate audience of the King. His portraiture of Charles's conversation is lively and characteristic. "At my arrival, the King asked me many questions about my journey, about the Congress, chafing us for spending him so much money, and doing nothing; and about Sir Leoline, asking me how I had bred him, and how he passed among the ambassadors there, and other pleasantries upon that subject. After a good deal of this kind of conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that it was what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that place. I told his Majesty, that it was too great a compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my country, and which I thought it did not deserve: that I be-

* To the Lord Treasurer, June 25.; iv. 330.

lieved there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give; and I could name two in a breath that I would undertake should make better Secretaries of State than I. The King said, 'Go, get you gone to Sheen; we shall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested yourself, come up again.' I never saw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable conversation when he was so; and where he was pleased to be familiar, great quickness of conception, great pleasantness of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more observation, and truer judgment of men, than one would have imagined by so careless and easy a manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own temper, he desired nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else should be so; and would have been glad to see the least of his subjects pleased, and to refuse no man what he asked. But this softness of temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from the opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change hands, when those he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties: so as nothing looked steady in the conduct of his affairs, nor aimed at any certain end. Yet sure no prince has more qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a grain of pride or vanity in his whole constitution: nor can he suffer flattery in any kind; growing uneasy upon the first approaches of it, and turning

it off to something else. But this humour has made him lose many great occasions of glory to himself, and greatness to his crown, which the conjunctures of his reign conspired to put into his hand; and have made way for the aspiring thoughts and designs of a neighbour Prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have succeeded, in the world, without the applications and arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious humour of the King." *

Temple staid two days at Sheen; in which time Coventry had changed his mind, or had resolved not to resign his office unless he might *name his successor*. The King was disposed to take him at his first word, but required very little persuasion from Temple to let the matter rest for the present. The affair was, however, well enough known, to occasion applications to Temple for places in his office, and other disagreeable incidents of a Court life, which served only to increase his love of the country.

Nevertheless, he now became more conversant than ever with the politics of the Court, having frequent conferences with the King, the Duke, and the Treasurer. The peace, and the Prince's coming to England, which Charles still persisted in postponing, were the principal topics of conversation. In one of these, the King expressed his concern at the continuance of the war abroad, into which his parliament was much disposed to plunge

* II. 419. 420.

him; and earnestly wishing to induce the Prince of Orange, separately from the allies, to agree upon terms of peace, he wished Temple to go over once more to the Hague, and endeavour to persuade William into this measure.

Notwithstanding that this proposal was backed by the Duke of York and Danby, and urged by the King on flattering considerations, Temple declined it. He could say no more to the Prince than he had said; it would be well to try another hand; and he recommended Mr. Hyde, who had already returned from Nimeguen.* Hyde went accordingly, found the Prince immoveable, and resumed his functions at the Congress.

Sir William Temple speaks on this occasion of Sir Leoline Jenkins, in remarks† which have greatly offended the biographer of that gentleman.‡ There is now no evidence, either to prove or to disprove the charge of timidity and indecision, which is the worst that Temple brings against his colleague; nor are there the means of verifying Temple's statement of his own interference in Jenkins's behalf, when he was unreasonably censured by Secretary Williamson.§ But the severity with which Mr.

* To Sir John Temple, Sheen, Aug. 1677; iv. 332.; and Memoirs, ii. 422.

† Memoirs, ii. 424. "I know that Mr. Hyde's going over would be a great comfort and support to Sir Leoline, who was in perpetual agonies (as his word was) after he was left alone in that station, having even so much distrust of his own judgment, that, *though he had the greatest desire that could be to do well*, yet he many times could not resolve how to go about it."

‡ Wynne's Life of Jenkins, i. xxix.

§ Jenkins had erred, in the opinion of his Court, upon a point of etiquette. "I had the good fortune to satisfy his Majesty and his

Wynne has reproved Sir William Temple, is not justified by the language used in the Memoirs, even if it be true (which we greatly doubt), that Temple's judgment was altogether biassed by his egotism. He has done him no "low office," nor has he mentioned him in "low and ungenerous terms;" unless the expression, "*poor gentleman*," applied to him when in official disgrace, ought to be so characterised. It is very probable that the vivacity of Sir William may have done less than justice to the graver qualities of Sir Leoline. The travelling tutor, the head of a college, the Judge in Doctors' Commons, brought into the society of all the *Diplomates* of Europe, is likely enough to have concealed his accomplishments through shyness, even if he did not disguise them by pedantry. Temple may have seen too quickly the formal, and appreciated too lightly the substantial, in the character; but D'Estrades also styles Jenkins *homme peu résolutif*.*

In September, 1677, permission was given to the Prince of Orange to come over as a suitor to the Princess Mary. Yet, when he came, Charles still wanted to postpone the match. William was greatly offended; Temple was employed to carry his remonstrances to the King, who finally acquiesced in an immediate marriage. Whatever might have

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ministers, and to obtain orders for his gracious pardon to be sent to Sir Leoline (for they would suffer it to run in no other terms); for which, however, *the poor gentleman* made as great acknowledgments as if his fault had been much greater and worse meant." — iv. 425, 426.

* Aug. 6.; ix. 76.

been his inducements * to depart from his resolution not to allow of this union until after peace should have been made, that which he avowed was appropriately chosen, to conciliate the Prince and his agent upon this occasion. "Well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks;"—of which he gave Temple some examples, —"and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife." The Duke, to whom Temple signified the King's pleasure, acquiesced, with seeming reluctance. Lord Danby completed the arrangements between the King and the Prince, and the marriage was accomplished.†

Except the French ambassador, who could not fail to see its ill effect upon his master's interests, Lord Arlington ‡ was the only unsatisfied man on this occasion of general joy. He was chagrined at its being brought about without his participation, and probably mortified at the greater share which Danby had in it.

This affair, according to Lady Giffard, completed the estrangement between Temple and Arlington. "The passages," she says, "that began

* Ralph says that the King was alarmed by the Prince's declaration, that they must henceforth be "the greatest friends or the greatest enemies;" and that William would intrigue among his disaffected subjects. (i. 338.) Temple represents the Duke, to whom he was also sent by the King, as consenting with some reluctance, and on the ground of obedience to the King; and James's life,— in which, however, nothing is said of Temple's visit to him by the King's command,— shows that his objections were not removed.— Temple, ii. 433.; and James, i. 508.

† Nov. 4. 1677.

‡ Memoirs, ii. 433.

this coldness, I believe, will be related in another place; my opinion is, that it was first from Sir William Temple's relation and long acquaintance with my Lord Treasurer, having travelled young together, and he being now in the ministry, as my Lord Arlington was before, all was changed into my Lord Treasurer's hands, and all instructions to Sir William Temple, with the rest, came from him: and these two great men living in the last degree of ill intelligence with one another, I take to be the true account of what I have so often heard laid to Sir William Temple's charge, of living ill with my Lord Arlington, with whom, from circumstances better forgot than repeated, it was impossible afterwards ever to live well."*

Arlington was doubtless a weak politician, and in that capacity used Temple ill; but in his letters he seems agreeable and amiable, and remarkably considerate of Temple's peculiarities.† But it is

* Coddenham.

† In p. 30. the author of Grammont is quoted as considering Arlington a dull man. The character which Hamilton gives of him is, in fact, much more particular, and its purport is perhaps not accurately expressed in that single and offensive word: — "Quoiqu'il n'y eût pas réussi pour les intérêts de son maître (in some negotiations in Spain, in early life), il n'y avait pas tout-à-fait perdu son temps; car il avait parfaitement attrapé par son extérieur le sérieux et la graveté des Espagnols; et dans les affaires il imitait assez bien leur denteur. Il avait une cicatrice au travers du nez, qui couvrait une longue mouche, ou, pour mieux dire, une petite emplâtre en losange. Les blessures au visage donnent d'ordinaire certain air violent et guerrier qui ne sied pas mal. C'était tout le contraire à son égard, et cette emplâtre remarquable s'était tellement accommodée à l'air mystérieux du sien, qu'il semblait y ajouter quelque chose d'important et de capable. Arlington, à l'abri de cette contenance composée d'une grande acidité pour le travail, et d'une impénétrable stupidité pour le secret, s'était donné pour grand politique: et n'ayant pas le loisir de l'examiner, on l'avait cru sur sa parole, et on l'avait fait ministre et sécretaire d'état sur sa mine."

true, that the weak and the wicked commit the same faults, and it is as impossible "to live well" with the one as the other.

The discussions concerning peace were now renewed between the King, the Prince, Danby, and Temple; of whose share in these councils little is known, except that he represented the ambition of Louis as incurable. "In course of my life," he said, "I have never observed men's natures to alter by age or fortunes; but that a good boy made a good man; a young coxcomb an old fool; and a young pipen an old knave: and that quiet spirits were so, young as well as old; and unquiet ones would be so, old as well as young: I believe the King of France will always have some bent or other; sometimes war, sometimes love, sometimes building; but I am of the Prince's opinion, that he will make peace with a design of a new war after he has fixed his conquests." *

(Ch. vii. p. 198. 12mo, 1827.) Hamilton's ridicule is applied to him when he carries his grave face into the boudoir of Mademoiselle Stewart, who laughs heartily at the original of a burlesque with which Buckingham, at that period of the moon in which buffoonery was uppermost, had amused this the beautiful and lively maid of honour. Dryden was a little puzzled by the character: —

> "Eliab next our labour doth invite,
> And *hard the task to do Eliab right;*
> Long with the royal wanderer he roved,
> And firm in all the turns of fortune proved.
> Such ancient service, and desert so large,
> Well claimed the royal household for his charge."
>
> [See p. 342. *ante*.]

His firmness in the turns of fortune is admirable, but his compliance with the turns of caprice and selfishness is disgraceful. For the most favourable account of Arlington, whose large share in Temple's transactions claims this extensive notice, see the Biographia Britannica, ii. 697.

* II. 434.

The Prince consistently and stoutly contended for a good frontier for Flanders; and finally persuaded the King to terms by which he thought that purpose would be accomplished.*

These terms were to be proposed to Spain by the Prince, and it was agreed that Temple should go to Paris, to propose them, in the name of Charles, to the French monarch. Temple, knowing how ill he stood at the Court of France, consented with reluctance, and was very glad when the King changed his mind; and, acknowledging that Temple would be an unwelcome bearer of unpalatable terms, nominated Lord Duras † to the mission.

But this new agent proceeded slowly. Louis made excuses, which for some time Charles, "softened," according to Temple, "by the softness of France," appeared willing to accept; but in December, 1677, Charles, influenced by his apprehensions of parliamentary interference, sent for Temple to the Cabinet, and ordered him to go to the Hague to make a new league with the States, in the nature of the Triple Alliance, and compel France and Spain to accept the terms. Temple remonstrated against such an engagement with Holland only,—"it would not have an effect as fine as the Triple Alliance had, that being a great ori-

* "All to be restored by France to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the war; the duchy of Lorraine to that Duke; and all on both sides between France and Holland; and to Spain the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Ghislain, and Binch." — Memoirs, ii. 435.

† Lewis Duras, a naturalised Frenchman, captain of the guard to the Duke of York; created Lord Duras in 1672. He became afterwards Earl of Feversham. — Bankes, iii. 296.

ginal of which this seemed an ill copy;" and he made various domestic excuses, which finally induced the King to excuse him; Laurence Hyde was again the substitute, and Mr. Thynne was sent over to him with instructions; in pursuance of which, he soon concluded a treaty of the purport prescribed *; and the parliament was assembled, in order to receive the information. †

The union of William and Mary, which ought to have given strength to the common interests of England and Holland, had in one respect the contrary effect. Such was the distrust which the Dutch people had, and not without reason, of the Court of England, that their Prince's connection with it diminished their confidence in him; and disposed them to listen more favourably to the offers of Louis, whose victories at the commencement of

* Jan. 10. 1678.; Dumont, vii. pt. 1. p. 341. Appendix C.

† The houses met by adjournment on the 23rd of December, 1677, and were again adjourned until, and on, the 15th of January, 1678, in expectation of an important communication "towards the satisfaction of their late addresses." On the 23rd of January, the King made a very warlike speech, in which he told parliament that "he had made such alliances with Holland as were for the preservation of Flanders, and spoke of obtaining a peace *by force*. He desired, of course, a plentiful supply. During all this period, the French King played with his pensioner; sometimes suspending the payment of the pension, sometimes promising it, or more, on condition that parliament should not be suffered to meet. Louis also negotiated, on equally infamous terms, with the popular leaders. Of these intrigues, one principal object was the ruin of Danby, whose opinions were known to be hostile to France. And it is not to be understood that all the warlike votes of the Commons proceeded from a patriotic abhorrence of the ambitious Louis; they were sometimes intended to embarrass the government, and perhaps to render a declaration against France less probable, by assigning to it objects more extensive than any upon which Charles would venture.— Parl. Hist. iv. 891. 895–6. (See Dalrymple, i. 148—159., and 178—228.; and Lingard, xiii. 3. 14. 23. 52.) In the summer of 1676, Courtin had succeeded Ruvigni as ambassador in London.

1678, and the undue influence which he obtained over some of the principal men in the Seven Provinces, enabled him to propound terms of peace, much less favourable to Spain *, than those which Charles had required.

Louis's attempts at bribery were not confined to the politicians of Holland. Temple was one day with Lord Danby, when a packet arrived from Mr. Ralph Montagu, the ambassador at Paris, reporting a conference with M. Louvois†, who was charged "to make the King of England the offer of a great sum of money for his consent" to the terms of France; this communication was to be made, not to the Secretaries of State, but to the Treasurer only, and with the offer of "a very considerable sum for himself, that should be sent over in money, jewels, or bills, as he should choose."

Danby took no notice of this offer, but went on, conjointly with Temple, "with the treaty with the confederates." Sidney Godolphin‡ was now sent over, to persuade the Prince, in consequence of the backwardness of the parliament, to acquiesce in a modification of the terms; and Godolphin, as well as Hyde, reported the violent disposition of

* "Restoring only six towns to the Spaniards, and mentioning Lorraine but ambiguously." — ii. 439.

† Francis le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois, was almost an hereditary minister. He was born in 1641, and was Secretary for the War Department at an early age. — Biog. Univ. xxv. 286.

‡ Afterwards Earl of Godolphin [Bankes, iii. 317.], the well-known coadjutor of Marlborough during a great part of the reign of Queen Anne. Burnet gives him a very high character, but he was not a very consistent politician. Temple was apparently ignorant of the purport of these instructions (which are in Danby's Letters, p. 346.), and believed that war, rather than peace, was the object of the mission.

the Dutch people towards peace. And France, now secure of Holland, and successful in the war*, treated lightly the King's interference.

Temple was once more pressed to go over, to ascertain whether the Dutch would go on with the war, *if England would take part in it;* but he once more excused himself, knowing the Dutch too well to expect that they would declare themselves, unless the King should have first taken measures with his parliament for carrying on the war.† Godolphin was again sent over.

In answer to the communication of Hyde's treaty, the House of Commons had addressed the King to insist upon the reduction of France to the Pyrenean Treaty‡, and had promised their support in a war undertaken upon that principle: here they went too far for the King, from whom accordingly they received a rebuke§; whereupon they voted a supply, specifically for the support of a war with France, and addressed him for an immediate declaration.‖

Meanwhile troops had been raised, and there was really an appearance of war; Temple was employed by the Lord Treasurer to compose a speech for the King to deliver to the two houses. In this proposed speech¶, the King tells his parliament,

* In the beginning of 1678 he took Ghent and Ypres.
† P. 144. ‡ Parl. Hist. iv. 907. § P. 916.
‖ P. 955. In the debate which followed, Secretary Williamson said that "things were as bad as bad could be; which he explained to mean, that now we had made a treaty with Holland, and came to the rest of the allies, Holland flew off." — P. 959, 960.
¶ Temple, iv. 340.

after some expressions of conciliation, that, seeing the state of the war, he had proposed such terms * to France as would leave Flanders defensible; that when France made difficulties, he made an alliance with Holland, which was to be offensive against France if they would not accept the terms; and he stated the terms proposed. He hoped thereby to satisfy "the just concernment they had so often expressed for the preservation of Flanders.... But I will confess," he proceeded, "I am ashamed to find myself so much deceived as I have been by France upon this occasion; who, contrary to all they have so often professed and promised me, have cut off all hopes of any reasonable peace by which Flanders might be saved; but on the other side making difficulties first upon one tone, then upon another, as the necessity of the Spaniards, or the disposition of the Dutch, gave them occasion, they have all along too plainly discovered their designs of carrying on the war to the full conquest of Flanders, whilst they endeavour to amuse the world, and us in particular, with the

* That they should restore to Spain Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, Courtray, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, Condé, and all others which should be taken after that time (as St. Ghislain, Ghent, and Ypres had unfortunately been); that they should restore all that they had taken in Sicily (which is a case now happily prevented); that they should restore Maestricht to the Dutch, and Lorraine to the Duke; that the peace of the Emperor should be made upon the foot of affairs in that time by which Philipsburg would have remained to the Emperor, and the loss of Friburg would have been prevented,—a truce in the North." While Charles boasted of the terms he had prescribed, he had ordered Danby to write the celebrated letter of the 25th of March, in which *reduced* terms were proposed (Tournay and Valenciennes, especially, being omitted), and money for himself demanded!—Danby's Letters, p. 70. 72.

discourses or overtures of a peace." The speech then criticised the terms * which France had offered, with a limitation to the 10th of May; and stated that the King would at once have declared war upon the discovery of the practices of the French, but that he wished first to make his alliances with the rest of the confederates, "and therein to pursue the good advice they had hinted to him themselves, in one of their addresses, to provide that none of the parties should depart from the alliance." He hinted, that, with very good intentions, their precipitate prohibition of French commodities had occasioned some difficulty as to the Dutch. However he never found the confederates willing to carry on the war by common consent. He had augmented his forces, and sent troops to Flanders, and was ready to declare the war, on signature of the treaties, but first desired the advice of parliament.

With Temple's views, this was an excellent speech; and it was very adroitly framed, with the view of conciliating parliament, and persuading them that the King's view of foreign policy was conformable to theirs.

Whether Charles would have consented to speak it, and thus to commit himself decidedly against France, was never ascertained; because inform-

* "They include the present restitution of Sweden, and the Duke of Holstein.... They would indeed keep Lorraine, while they pretend to restore it; for they will keep Nancy, Marsal, and the highways through that country; and they will have Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, and Ypres, which are the very keys of Flanders on that side, besides Dinant or Charlemont on the other."

ation came from Hyde and Godolphin, that Holland desired a peace, even upon the terms of Louis; and a special envoy * from the States brought the same news, though he assured Temple (who was employed to confer with him) that his masters would still go into the war, if the King would declare it immediately.

Temple's speech was laid aside, and, instead of it, one was delivered by Lord Keeper Finch, in which there was not a word accusatory of the French; but complaint was made of the evasive and unfriendly conduct of the Dutch. †

Still, however, as Temple believed, Charles would have declared war, but for "a peevish vote," as he styles it, which the House of Commons passed, for granting no more money until satisfaction should be received in matters of religion.‡ This vote put the King in a rage, which he vented upon Temple; "*reproached him with his popular notions*, as he called them, and asked him how he could trust the House of Commons to carry on the war, if he should engage in it?"—a question which Temple found it difficult to answer.

In speaking of Temple's popular notions, Charles probably referred to the counsel which he had given

* Van Lewen.

† April 29. 1678. Temple is thus mentioned in this speech:—"His Majesty continued still, during all the rest of that summer (1677), to make all the steps he could towards an alliance with Holland. *To this end* he did, in the month of June, send for his ambassador, Sir William Temple, to come to him from Nimeguen, *in order to negotiate with the Prince of Orange*, touching those measures which were necessary to be taken for the common safety; but the Prince's continual action caused it to be deferred."—Parl. Hist. iv. 961.

‡ P. 964.

for taking measures with the parliament, and asking their advice. The proceedings of the House of Commons now put him out of conceit with the war; and, "since the Dutch would have a peace upon the French terms, and *France offered money for his consent to what he could not help, he did not see why he should not get the money**," which, it would appear, the French ambassador had orders to offer. With this ambassador (Barillon, who had succeeded Courtin) Charles — displaying certainly much want of judgment in the choice of his agent — desired Temple to treat. Temple, as might have been expected, excused himself; but, however free he had lately been in giving advice to the King, he did not now venture to protest against, still less to prevent, the acceptance of the money. When the King, notwithstanding his excuses, sent Barillon to Temple, he avoided the discussion, by pleading illness†; and, retiring to Sheen, wrote thus to the Lord Treasurer:—"... I could not but let you know how very sensible I was of what you last told me, with so much kindness, about his Majesty and his Royal Highness having been so much displeased with some of my late discourses to his Majesty, though your Lordship could not tell me more of them than that they were some popular notions; as likewise the great dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive *at the difficulties I made to enter upon an affair which belonged not at all to my post, and wherein his Majesty had not done me the*

* P. 447.

† Barillon to Louis, May 28. 1678. Dalr. i. 221.

honour to acquaint me with the deliberation or digestion of it. I must confess, the source of his Majesty's displeasure (which I never deserved) has been so great a mortification to me, that, to show how much I have ever been concerned in his Majesty's service and satisfaction, and how little in any advantages of my own, I have resolved most humbly to lay at his Majesty's feet, not only my two present embassies, but also the promise of the Secretary's place which his Majesty was pleased to make me so graciously, and of his motion. . . . I shall assure his Majesty of my resolution to pass the rest of my life in the constant and hearty wishes and prayers for the honour and safety of his Majesty and his kingdoms; and that, how mean soever a servant I have been, he shall find me as good a subject as any man alive. In what I ought to say to your Lordship upon this occasion, I shall leave it till I wait upon you; being resolved by all means possible to preserve the honour of so long an acquaintance, and of so much favour as your Lordship's to me. And as, during all my employments, I never yet asked any thing of his Majesty besides the bare pay of them, or ever used to trouble your Lordship about any business of my own, so I shall continue the same course at the end of them, and *leave to my wife the pursuit of what his Majesty owes me upon them;* that so your Lordship may ever reckon upon all the services, and never upon any trouble from me." *

* May 18. 1678, iv. 344.

Lord Danby, less scrupulous than his friend, refused to take this message to the King; and Temple's resolution to resign was not so lively as to induce him to address himself directly to his Majesty, or to use another channel: but he was pressed no farther. He remained quietly at Sheen, till once more sent for by the King.*

Meanwhile, Charles concluded another secret treaty †, and was again all French; but a dispute with Barillon about one article ‡, and probably the votes of the Commons §, once again disposed him to a vigorous assertion of the policy of the Triple Alliance.

* II. 448.

† May 27. 1678; Dalr. i. 213. By this treaty Charles bound himself not to assist the Dutch or Spaniards, if they would not accept the French terms of peace within two months; and he was to receive 6,000,000 livres, on condition of proroguing parliament for four months from the expiration of the two, recalling his troops from Flanders, and disbanding the new levies.

‡ Memoirs, ii. 448.; and Swift's note on Temple's letter to Ormond of July 2., iv. 346.

§ The Commons again condemned the King's treaties; recommended a confederation for carrying on the war against France, with a prohibition of all trade with that country; and a stipulation against any separate treaty. The King answered, "This address is so extravagant, that I am not willing speedily to give it the answer it deserves." And he prorogued parliament from the 13th to the 23d of May, when he said to them, "When I met you last, I asked your advice upon the great conjunctures abroad. What return you, gentlemen of the House of Commons, made to me, and whether it was suitable to the end I intended (which was the saving of Flanders), I leave it to yourselves, in cold blood, to consider. . . . . I am resolved, as far as I am able, to save Flanders, either by a war or a peace, which way soever I shall find most conducing towards it." And he required in either case the means of supporting an army. The Lord Keeper then told them, that their votes against the former treaties had injured the King's interests at Nimeguen. But the Commons would vote no money, except for disbanding the forces, unless the King would enter into the war. This he evaded. Money was voted for disbanding, and on the 15th of July parliament was prorogued. — Parl. Hist. iv. 968. 970. 977. 983. 985. 1006.

About the same time, the Dutch, who were tired out, and would not follow their capricious friend in all his turns, were negotiating separately with France; and the terms of peace between these two powers only were settled about the end of June. *

This great affair thus appeared to be at an end, and Temple's functions as a mediator to have ceased, when he was once more called into action as a diplomatist, and engaged in another rapid, successful, and yet fruitless negotiation.

* The terms were, that each party should retain possession of what he had, except that the French restored Maestrict to the Dutch.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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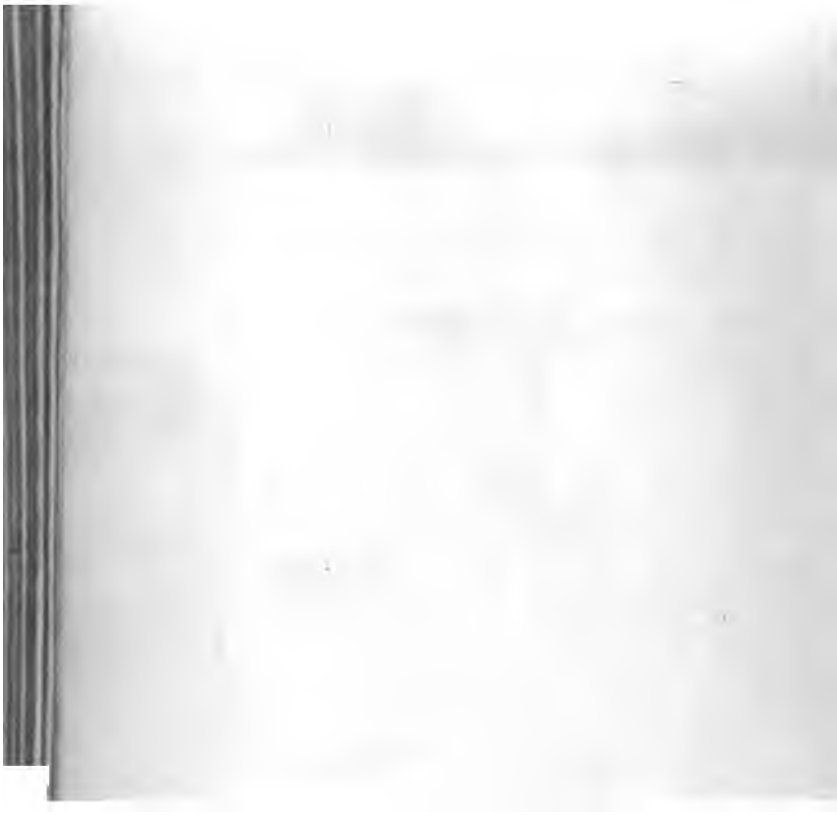

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